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Change and Exchange

In a season of transition, such as autumn in the Northeast, events are often viewed as reflective of the changing landscape — an old and romantic notion, but apt. In tidying up our surroundings, while we tend to wood-piles, garden mulches, and carpets of fallen leaves, our sense of being in control and bringing order out of disarray stays us against the world's more substantive intrusions. We cannot, of course, ignore the cataclysms that make headline news almost daily, so it becomes pertinent and beneficial to allow one's bailiwick to shrink for a few hours to manageable proportions. After a time, when the leaves have been raked and jammed into barrels, the flower beds neatened and denuded to a stubby order, and the wood stacked, the cosmic mess still awaits its turn. Then our votes, protests, banner carrying, and speaking out become logical extensions of activity, enabling us to meet challenges with vigor and conviction.

In fact, recent issues of *Nieman Reports* have placed before readers a sampling of the storm and stress that the press is experiencing, globally. Incidents of threat, curtailment, or flat-out suppression of the news continue.

The current newsletter from the Committee to Protect Journalists, *CPJ Update*, in its "Caselist" column, includes such accounts from thirteen countries: new occurrences in Argentina, Bangladesh, Brazil, Indonesia, Lebanon, Malaysia, Paraguay, Sri Lanka, Turkey, and Zimbabwe, as well as updates from earlier cases in South Africa, Uruguay, and Paraguay.

And now, within the ranks of journalists in the United States, a split that started as a splinter has widened to a wedge between colleagues. At an unannounced meeting in September, called in Geneva in the name of the International Press Institute, European leaders from

five news organizations gathered to discuss procedures in the setting up of an Independent Press Committee that would issue cards to all journalists who would be "required to go into areas of conflict and warlike situations. . . . The International Committee would not, repeat not, be a new organization and not come under the UNESCO umbrella. Obviously, cooperation with UNESCO would be necessary. . . ."

The response of the uninformed American IPI Committee was quick and angry. It is calling an emergency meeting of officers and executive committee in November, but in the meantime, Mr. Robert M. White II, chairman, has sent a letter of protest to Mr. Max Snijders, chairman of IPI, and Mr. Peter Galliner, IPI director. Further, the unqualified disapproval of and opposition to the apparent goals of the Geneva meeting have led to the withholding of additional American funds to IPI's international headquarters. So far this year the American Committee has sent in \$61,000 representing dues collected from its 230 active and associate members. IPI is made up of approximately two thousand members in sixty countries. The U.S. group is thought to be the largest numerically, as well as financially, contributing between 25 and 30 percent of the total IPI budget.

The IPI American group's protestations to the Geneva meeting now can be viewed as a sort of dress rehearsal for the torrent of criticism from the U.S. press at large that is inundating our government and its decision to bar news coverage in the early days of the Grenada invasion.

At a House hearing before a subcom-

mittee on November 2nd, three television figures and a lawyer specializing in freedom of the press joined in castigating the government. David Brinkley, senior correspondent for ABC News; John Chancellor, a commentator for NBC News, and Edward M. Joyce, president of CBS News, said they did not remember any other major landing operation by the United States that was not covered by the media. Floyd Abrams, the lawyer, testified, "I know of no other recent administration that has acted so consistently against the right of the public to obtain information."

Mr. Joyce said that the Reagan administration, in curbing access to Grenada, had "introduced a new relationship with the press, a relationship virtually unknown in U.S. history."

The Associated Press Managing Editors, meeting in convention the same day in Louisville, Kentucky, passed a resolution condemning as "inexcusable" the government's decision to prohibit early Grenada news coverage. The resolution said that the prohibition "prevented the press from carrying out its traditional and vital function of directly informing the American public of the actions of its military forces."

The Society of Professional Journalists, Sigma Delta Chi, wrote recently to President Reagan. "The result of your administration's news management is that the American people have received a steady, unhealthy diet of rumors that conjure of images undoubtedly less favorable to the United States government than the reality."

In this issue of *NR* we catch glimpses of the American media at work. James Whelan describes the birth of a newspaper. At the other end of the spec-

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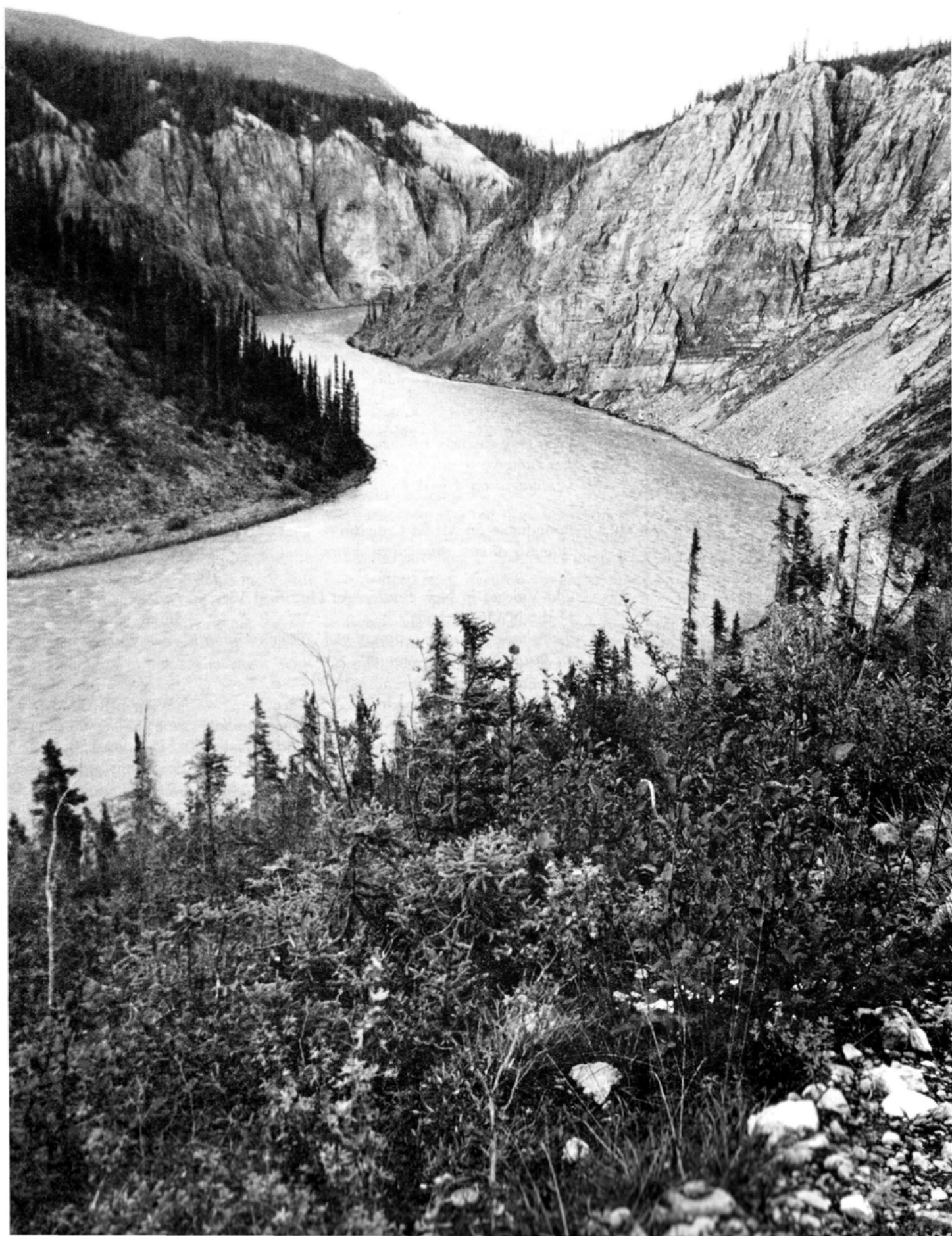
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Cover photograph: Snow-covered trees atop the Continental Divide in Yellowstone National Park. By Bert Lindler ('83), see "A Voice From The Empty Quarter," page 4.

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A Voice From The Empty Quarter

The West is a sort of Fort Knox where
the government's land treasure is stored.
It's not well guarded.

Text and Photographs by Bert Lindler



An elk calf wet from walking through dew-soaked shrubs in Yellowstone National Park.

Most journalists understand the city. That's where they live. That's where their sources live. That's where their papers are produced and read.

However, for the past seven years I have written about natural resources found only in a land of empty spaces, Montana.

These resources are important to persons living in the cities. If you drink beer, you care about Montana's natural resources. One-fifth of the nation's malting barley grows on the plains east of the Rocky Mountains. If you use plywood, you care about Montana's natural resources. One of the nation's largest plywood plants is at Bonner, a small town in the mountain valleys near Missoula. If you cherish wilderness, you care about Montana's natural resources. There are fourteen wilderness areas in Montana which would be larger than Connecticut if they were combined.

One-third of Montana is owned by the federal government. All U.S. citizens have a stake in the management of these lands and environmental impact statements are intended to give interested citizens a say.

For instance, before the Forest Service decides which portions of a national forest will be logged or grazed or protected, it compares different alternatives in an environmental statement. Such statements are now being prepared for each of the nation's 155 national forests. They will guide the way national forest lands are managed for the next decade.

These statements are difficult to read and interpret. However, they reveal whether hunters will be more or less likely to kill elk, whether snowmobilers will have access to their favorite areas, and whether local sawmills will be able to harvest the timber they want. People may

Bert Lindler, Nieman Fellow '84, is an environmental reporter for the Great Falls (Montana) Tribune. He not only writes about the wild lands in the West, he visits them by ski, foot, horseback, and canoe. His photographs show the wild lands he loves.

not care about environmental impact statements, but they care about hunting, snowmobiling, and jobs.

Since federal lands belong to everyone, everyone should benefit from them. Some persons may never hunt, hike, or fish on federal land, but all U.S. citizens share in the revenue produced by the sale of resources.

Part of the revenue is returned to the county where it was produced as "payment in lieu of taxes." The remainder goes to the federal treasury, but it may not be enough to pay the cost of managing the land.

Oil and gas leasing make money. Last year the Bureau of Land Management spent \$5.4 million on oil and gas-related activities in Montana and the Dakotas — while it made \$35.3 million in Montana alone.

In contrast, grazing loses money. The Bureau of Land Management spent \$2.4 million for range management in Montana and the Dakotas last year, but collected only \$1.9 million in fees. Grazing could be a money-maker if the government charged as much for its grazing as private landowners do. In Montana it costs a rancher from \$7.50 to \$10 per month for one cow to graze on private land. However, ranchers who rent from the federal government pay only \$1.40 per month. The formula used to set the fee will be reviewed by Congress in 1985.

While land is abundant in Montana, water is not. The average rainfall in eastern Montana is about fourteen inches a year, one-third that of New York City.

If water stayed in one place, folks would learn to get along with what they had, or try to buy some from their neighbors. But, since water flows from ranch to ranch and from state to state, those upstream are always trying to figure out how they can keep it (whether or not they can use it), and those downstream are always trying to figure out how they can get it.

South Dakota recently angered states downstream when it sold Missouri River water for a proposed pipeline to carry pulverized coal in water slurry from Wyoming to the Gulf Coast. The downstream states filed suit in federal court.

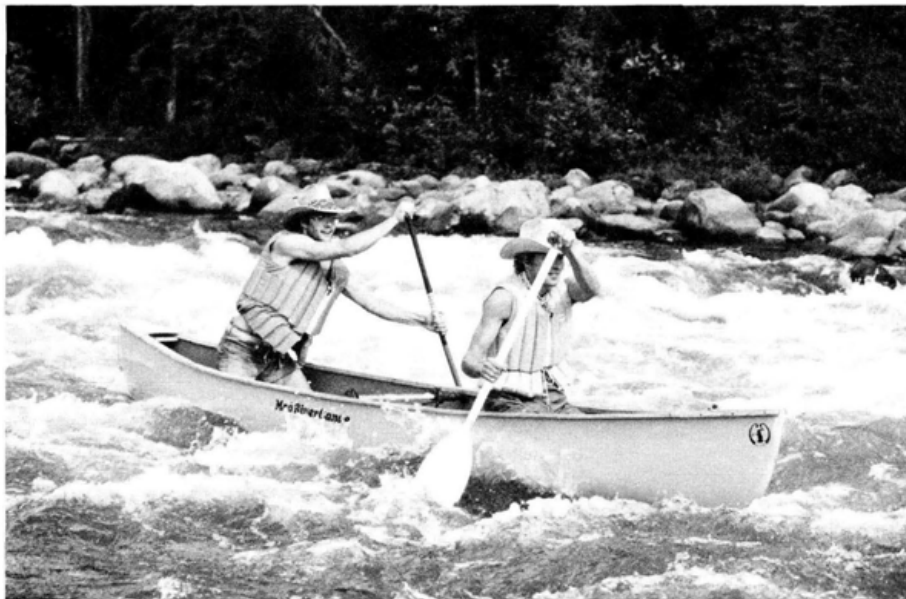
Wyoming and Montana weren't mad.



A moose feeding in Yellowstone National Park.



Floatplanes are the basic means of transportation in the Alaskan and Canadian bush. Here a canoe is strapped to the strut of a floatplane before a two-week-long trip on the Nahanni River in Canada's Northwest Territories.



Two canoeists paddle through rapids on the upper stretches of the Nahanni River.

They were jealous. As upstream states, they thought they might be able to sell water too. The rationale was to sell some unused water while using the profits to build water development projects. Since the federal government has reduced its contribution for such projects, states need more money to pay their share. However, the rush to sell water will pit state against state. The Montana legislature decided to study the issue for two years.

Montana's nickname is "The Treasure State." It has one-third of the nation's coal that can be strip-mined, the largest platinum deposit in North America, and the nation's largest producing silver mine. It also has some of the nation's highest mineral severance taxes and

strictest environmental regulations.

Taxes and regulations are a reaction to the state's domination by the Anaconda Company, which mined copper in Butte for nearly a century before suspending mining this summer. The company not only dominated politics and the state's economy, it owned all the state's major daily newspapers, with the exception of the *Great Falls Tribune*. The sale of the four newspapers to Lee Enterprises in 1959 was viewed as a significant step in breaking the state's copper shackle.

The Anaconda Company mine in Butte produced the copper that electrified America, one out of every five pounds produced nationwide from the early 1880's to 1950. Butte was known as "the richest hill on earth." Its mining legacy is a mile-wide pit gaping beside



When the rapids are too tricky to float, canoeists can line the canoes downstream using ropes.



Riverbank cuisine on float trips can include apple pies such as this one being prepared by David Anderson on the Nahanni River.



Winter campers skiing through the back country of Yellowstone National Park.

the remains of the city, which the pit partially consumed.

When the rush to strip-mine western coal began in the 1970's, Montana passed one of the nation's toughest strip-mining reclamation laws and a thirty percent severance tax. States buying the coal consider the tax extortionary. But the tax assures that the rewards of mining today will be available tomorrow. Half the tax is put into a trust fund from which only the interest is spent. The other half provides services in areas impacted by coal development or goes into the state's general fund.

During the 1980's there has been increased exploration for oil and gas and precious metals. Oil and gas exploration along the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains in north central Montana is taking place in some of the nation's richest wildlife habitats. The lands are home to elk, deer, bighorn sheep, Rocky Mountain goat, and the endangered Rocky Mountain wolf and threatened grizzly bear.

However, one of the most significant recent on-shore discoveries of oil and natural gas was found in geologically similar areas of Wyoming and Utah. Biologists are advising oil companies when to schedule their explorations so they will not unduly disturb wildlife. The firms have generally abided by increasingly strict regulations and have also helped to fund wildlife studies.

Helena, Montana's capital, was founded on the site of the 1864 Last Chance Gulch gold strike. The early prospectors were looking for placer gold — gold that had washed out of veins and become buried in streams. Once that gold played out, mining became more difficult.

The increasing value of gold has allowed an old technique to separate gold from low-grade ore to be used on a massive scale. Ore is heaped into enormous piles which are sprayed with a cyanide solution. Gold is collected in the solution that runs off.

Keeping the cyanide out of water can be a problem. At the mining town of Zortman, cyanide recently entered the water supply. The contaminated water system had to be shut off and is no longer in use.

In a highly publicized election at junior-high schools across the state a year ago, Montana students selected the grizzly bear as the state animal. Grizzlies symbolize an untamed spirit and a wild land. There is less and less land where grizzlies can live without encountering man. When man meets bear, one or the other has to give. Usually it's the bear, despite the well-publicized maulings in which the bear comes out on top.

Grizzly bears are found near Glacier and Yellowstone National Parks and in small, isolated populations in the Mission and Cabinet Mountains. Perhaps the most threatened group is a tiny population in the Cabinet Mountains, where the bears live on land with underlying deposits of silver that may be among the richest in North America.

Last year the one mine already operating there was the nation's largest producing silver mine. Two mining companies have been rushing to explore for new deposits within the nearby Cabinet Mountains Wilderness Area. After the end of this year, mineral exploration will be forbidden in wilderness areas. However, deposits that have already been explored can be developed. The Forest Service has had to weigh the concerns of the mining companies facing the year-end deadline, against the concerns of biologists who fear the disturbance will harm the grizzly bear.

People need a place where they're free from disturbance, too. Many Montanans moved there to escape the cities. During the summer months and fall hunting seasons many city residents come to Montana to get away for a week or two.

To understand just how sparsely Montana is populated, imagine an area the size of New England. Add New York. Then add Pennsylvania. Only 786,690 persons live here, about as many as live in Boston and three neighboring communities: Brookline, Somerville, and Cambridge.

Montana can't support a large population because its economy is based on the export of raw materials, but no matter how many jobs were available, the state's isolation and harsh winters would deter many from settling there. Yet it's hard to imagine a better place for out-



The Bechler River in Yellowstone National Park, midwinter.



Snow-covered trees atop the Continental Divide in Yellowstone National Park. Snow here was fifteen feet deep.

door enthusiasts. The year is a cycle of activity that begins with white-water canoeing and bicycling in the spring, continues with hiking, fishing and hunting during the summer and fall, and concludes in winter with skiing.

The large expanses of undeveloped land that allow this type of recreation

can't be bought, but they can be preserved. Many of the state's environmental disputes pit those trying to develop natural resources against those trying to preserve them. There is no right answer, only a balance. The trick is to preserve the state's natural values while allowing wise use of its natural resources. □



The Bechler Meadows in Yellowstone National Park.

The Demise of the Buffalo Courier-Express: A Case Study

Donald R. Hetzner

The life of a newspaper is especially vulnerable to outside market forces and demographic changes within its area of dominant influence.

On Sunday, September 19, 1982, the *Buffalo* (N.Y.) *Courier-Express* published its last newspaper, thus ending 148 years of continuous publication. Amid a wave of closings of afternoon papers, a large morning newspaper went out of business. What happened?

Local and national pundits cited a mix of reasons for the failure of the *Courier*, including sloppy fiscal management by the Connors family and, later, Cowles Media Company. Tied to rumors of fiscal mismanagement was the charge that Cowles Media had deliberately bled the *Courier-Express*, stripped CableScope from the newspaper, and then took a huge tax loss on the newspaper. Other analysts stressed the fact that the *Sunday Courier-Express* was less profitable after the *Buffalo News* dropped its Saturday evening edition and placed the *Buffalo News* Sunday edition in competition with the *Sunday Courier-Express*. This competition resulted in a costly private antitrust suit that further strained the resources of the *Courier-Express*.

All of these observations are supportable but there were additional factors that led to the closing of the *Courier-Express*. They were the uniqueness of the Buffalo media market, the *Courier-Express*' history of circulation problems, the changing demographics of the Buffalo SMSA (Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area), and petitions to amended FCC rules in 1974

that led to a strengthening of the Butler family interests, including the *Buffalo Evening News*, WBEN-TV, WBEN-AM, and WBEN-FM radio.

The writer was a participant observer in several of the major research studies and confrontations in the 1970's that were closely related to the problems of the *Courier-Express*. What follows is a chronology of the events that eventually killed that newspaper. An examination of these happenings provides insights into the dynamics of a major market with a steadily declining population base, and warnings for newspapers in metropolitan areas with stable or declining populations. The critical nature of prior restraint and its enforcement, as imposed by the courts or the Federal Communications Commission, are also underscored by this longitudinal analysis.

Much of the data regarding the circulation of the *Courier-Express* and the *Buffalo News*, and the media consumption habits of the population of western New York were buried in proprietary research files and private research for the antitrust suit filed by the *Courier-Express* against the *Buffalo Evening News*. A number of these files are now available and comments on them can be made since, recently, all antitrust and related suits were dropped by the mutual agreement of the *Buffalo News* and the *Courier-Express*. The research documents prepared for the Butler interests in 1974 FCC hearings are now in the public domain, documents prepared for the *Courier-Express* in contempt hearings against the *Buffalo News* in the U.S. District Court were published in the December 8, 1977 issue of the *Courier-Express*; and the Audit Bureau of Circulation and Advertising Research Foundation have now deleted the 1971 and 1976 *Courier-Express* readership studies from their files.

Many of the problems of the *Courier-Express* began in the late 1960's as a consequence of the shifting demographics of the Buffalo SMSA and changing patterns of media

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consumption in the area. Dramatic population changes took place in the Buffalo market between 1960 and 1970. While the population of the Buffalo SMSA had risen from 1,307,000 in 1960 to 1,349,211 in 1970, the city of Buffalo had declined in population from 532,759 to 462,768 people in the same ten-year period. This was the first documentation of migration from the city. In 1970 there were 885,000 adults 18 years of age and older in the Buffalo SMSA — 320,000 of these adults were in the city, 400,000 in the first and second rings of suburbs, and 160,000 in the remainder of the SMSA.

For years the *Courier-Express* relied on two factors to keep it solvent. First, the *Sunday Courier-Express* was highly profitable. It was a Buffalo institution, fat with advertising, that had no competition. Second, the *Courier-Express* relied on selling a comparatively weak newspaper, compared to the *Buffalo Evening News*, by talking about readership rather than circulation figures.

In 1970, the usual estimate was that a morning weekday paper was read by three to five people. In the case of the Buffalo SMSA, the *Courier-Express* was, on an average day, said to be read by 3.1 people while the *Buffalo Evening News* passed through 1.98 hands. So, talking about readers per copy became an important point in selling advertising space in the *Courier-Express*. This multiple reader phenomena was and is caused by the fact that parts of or all of a morning newspaper is read by any number of people in restaurants at breakfast, mid-morning, and lunch and is passed around offices. With the increasing de-urbanization of Buffalo, however, newspaper reading patterns began to change. As the more well-to-do began in the 1960's and 1970's to move to the first ring of suburbs and into other areas of the SMSA, the *Buffalo Evening News* gained strength in the city and first ring of suburbs, while the *Courier-Express* began to pick up readers in the outer areas of the SMSA. The following table gives some idea of the geographic market segmentation of the two newspapers in 1970.

TABLE I

	<i>Courier-Express</i> Readers (335,000)	<i>Buffalo Evening</i> <i>News</i> Readers (598,000)
Buffalo City	39.1	39.6
Buffalo Suburbs (includes 1st and 2nd rings)	48.1	53.2
Other Areas	12.8	7.2
	100.00	100.00

While about 39 percent of each newspaper's readership lived in the city, 53.2 percent of the *Evening News* circulation

was in the densely populated inner area of the first ring of suburbs. The *Courier-Express*, on the other hand, was being pushed into the expensive, hard-to-service, outer edges of the first ring of suburbs and into the second ring of suburbs and outlying areas of the SMSA. In the mid-1970's both papers faced a market in which there was migration out of the central city and SMSA, and large numbers of adults were relocating in Erie and Niagara Counties. It had become a market in which to sell newspapers and advertising. Efficient and reliable distribution were paramount.

It was a market in which all old subscribers and readers were valuable because they were irreplaceable. . .

The *Courier-Express* was already at a disadvantage because it had a lower weekday readership and a circulation area spread over a larger, less concentrated area than that of the *Buffalo Evening News*. It was a market in which all old subscribers and readers were valuable because they were irreplaceable, a market in which good will and good delivery service were all that would keep a *Courier-Express* subscriber from becoming a *Buffalo Evening News* subscriber. The late Edward Fitzmorris, advertising research director of the *Courier-Express*, succinctly and correctly summarized the *Courier-Express* distribution problem as "that little bastard on a bicycle." The papers were simply, in many cases, not available early in the morning, and door-to-door delivery and collection were poor.

The *Buffalo Evening News* had another advantage in the Buffalo marketplace. It was part of a family corporation composed of the *Buffalo Evening News* and WBEN-TV, AM and FM radio. Not only did the Butler family own the area's dominant newspaper, but also the local CBS affiliate and the two top rated radio stations in an ADI (Area of Dominant Influence) that encompassed twelve New York and six Pennsylvania counties. In 1974, when the *Buffalo Evening News* and WBEN, Inc. requested amendments in FCC rules, 1,172,088 adults lived in the ADI, and on the average day 69 percent of them watched WBEN-TV, read the *Buffalo Evening News*, or both. Additionally, another 21 percent of adults within the ADI, some of whom read the *Evening News* or watched WBEN, listened to WBEN-AM or FM on an average day. Thus, on any given day, nearly 90 percent of the Buffalo ADI had contact with one or more of the Butler media outlets. The only analogous situations in the United States were in the San Francisco Bay area and Norfolk, Virginia.

The obvious difference between the situations were, however, that the *Buffalo Evening News* was in an area with a rapidly declining population base. Federal Communications

Commission Rules relating to multiple ownership of standard, FM, and television broadcast stations were quite specific and, if strictly applied, would have required that the Butler family divest themselves of either the newspaper or television station. As it was, a great deal of time, effort and money were put into a set of market studies that formed a comprehensive study of media consumption in western New York and part of north-western Pennsylvania. This study, prepared by National Mar-

The study revealed a steadily eroding
base of city readers and the fact
that the *Courier-Express* was passing
through fewer hands... while the
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pick up in readership.

keting Associates, Inc. of Buffalo and the writer, and presented to the FCC by the law firm of Fletcher, Heald et al., of Washington, D.C., resulted in a relaxing of FCC rules relating to multiple ownership of major information mediums.

Between 1974, when the *Buffalo Evening News*/WBEN study was accepted, and 1977, when the *Buffalo Evening News* was sold to the Blue Chip Stamp Company headed by Warren Buffet, the *Buffalo Evening News*, and WBEN-TV, and WBEN-AM/FM radio dominated the Buffalo market, and could mutually support one another. The *Courier-Express* meanwhile continued to base its advertising sales on the notion that the newspaper had more readers per copy than the *News* and that advertising space costs were significantly lower than those of the competition. By 1976, however, it was becoming apparent that changing demographics in the Buffalo market

were going to squeeze both newspapers. Estimates published in 1975 confirmed large population losses in the city and a continuing outmigration from the SMSA. The U.S. Bureau of the Census gave the city population at 405,000 while other sources estimated it as low as 345,000. In all, the population loss in the city between 1970 and 1975 was estimated to be between 58,000 and 118,000 — and these people were not migrating to the suburbs as in the past. The SMSA showed a proportional drop during the same period.

In 1976, the *Courier-Express* commissioned the study, "Reader Audiences of Buffalo Newspapers, 1976," which was designed to measure readership of both the *Buffalo Evening News* and the *Courier-Express*, and to generate demographic profiles of readership patterns in western New York. The study did that and more; it revealed a steadily eroding base of city readers and the fact that the *Courier-Express* was passing through fewer hands than it did in 1970, while the *Evening News* was beginning to pick up in readership. In 1976, 34.7 percent of the *Evening News* readers and 33.7 percent of the *Courier-Express* readers lived in the city. This was a drop of about 5 percent in city readers for both papers. The major change from 1976 was not in the city, but, rather, in the second ring of suburbs and in the area of the SMSA outside of the city of Buffalo and its suburbs. Table II pulls together these figures from the 1976 study.

Between 1970 and 1976 the *Courier-Express* lost 26,000 readers and readers per copy dropped from 3.1 to 2.9. In the same period, *Evening News* readership was off 19,000 while the number of readers per copy was up 2.2 from 1.98 in 1970. The real message, however, was contained in figures relating to geographic dispersion of readers. In 1976 almost 20 percent of the *Courier-Express* readers were in the area outside of the city of Buffalo and its first two rings of suburbs. If the suburban areas are considered, then it can be estimated that approximately 40 percent of the *Courier's* readership was in the hard-to-service second ring of suburbs and outlying areas of the SMSA. These areas were so far out that the competition came from newspapers such as the *Niagara Gazette*, the *Lockport Union-Sun and Journal*, and the *Tonawanda News*, rather than the *Buffalo Evening News*.

It was apparent that only the Sunday edition was holding the *Courier-Express* together. Based on an estimated 2.4 readers per copy, there were 556,000 readers of the *Sunday Courier-Express* on an average Sunday in the Buffalo SMSA. There was simply no competition in a market that showed little possibility of supporting more than one Sunday paper. The status quo and the *Sunday Courier's* profitability were to be seriously and permanently challenged, however, during 1977. In that year Blue Chip Stamps purchased the *Buffalo Evening News* from the Butler estate. At first *Buffalo Evening News* spokesmen took the stand that the paper did not intend to publish a Sunday paper but would not completely rule that out sometime in the future.

On November 13, 1977, the *Buffalo Evening News* published the first edition of the *Sunday News*. Controversy began

TABLE II

	<i>Courier-Express</i> Readers (309,000)	<i>Buffalo Evening</i> <i>News</i> Readers (579,000)
Buffalo City	33.7	34.7
Buffalo Suburbs (including 1st and 2nd suburbs)	46.9	55.4
Other Areas	19.4	10.9
	100.00	100.00

immediately when employees of the *Courier-Express* reported being offered employment on the *News*; rumors regarding the insolvency of the *Courier* and its demise were spread by *News* employees; advertisers were guaranteed that the *Buffalo News* Sunday edition would reach 280,000 western New Yorkers; advertising rates for the newspaper were set unrealistically low; and the price was set at a ridiculously low thirty cents per copy. At this same time, the *News* announced a five-week giveaway of the paper. The *Courier-Express* immediately sought injunctive relief via the United States District Court.

On November 9, 1977, Judge Charles J. Brieant had issued an order granting, in large part, the relief sought by the *Courier-Express*. The order directed that no more than two issues out of the proposed five could be delivered without charge on the weekends of November 12, 13, 19, and 20, 1977. After November 25, the Sunday edition was to be sold for at least thirty cents. Predictions on the circulation of the *Sunday News* were not to be given to advertisers unless they were good-faith estimates or paid circulation figures, and *Courier-Express* advertisers who canceled contracts or curtailed customary placement in the *Courier-Express* were to be "informed" by the *News* that the guarantee of at least 280,000 circulation was withdrawn and that advertisers could cancel without penalty. Judge Brieant went on to allow the *News* to give away excess copies of pre-printed copies of Sunday papers' components if they existed on the day of the order. The material was to be given away in a reasonable fashion, not involving "forcing" or "blanketing." No more than two and one-half percent of the circulation of the *Sunday News* was to be given away after November 26, 1977. In the last section of the order, Judge Brieant directed the *News* to inform its staff, in writing, that it was not *News*' policy to offer employment to *Courier* staff, unless they had resigned or been terminated prior to the offer, or to predict the bankruptcy, insolvency, or the demise of the *Courier-Express*.

The order was clearly written with little room for interpretation by the *Buffalo Evening News*. Within days, however, management at the *Courier-Express* began to have further misgivings about the distribution practices of the *News*. There were

indications that an excessive number of *Buffalo News* Sunday editions were being printed, that large numbers of newspapers were being given away in a "blanket" fashion, and that "forcing" was being practiced.

To check on what was happening to the excess copies of the *Sunday News*, the *Courier-Express* stationed staff members near the *News* loading docks. These observers reported that

There were indications that large numbers of newspapers were being given away in a "blanket" fashion, and that "forcing" was being practiced.

apparently the *News* was making press runs of 250,000 to 300,000 Sunday papers. A hundred thousand or so papers were then distributed through normal channels; then the rest, upward of 100,000 newspapers, were picked up by trucks and sold as scrap paper. Thus, the *News* could claim press runs in the neighborhood of 280,000.

On November 27, 1977, the *Courier-Express*, through Survey Systems, Inc., a subsidiary of the *Courier-Express*, conducted 1,034 telephone interviews in the Buffalo SMSA. The results of the survey indicated that 38.7 percent of the respondents who received the *Sunday News* on that day, had it "forced" on them. The definition of "forcing" was that a *Courier-Express* or *Buffalo Evening News* subscriber would have had a Sunday edition of the *News* delivered without ordering it, against the direction of the U.S. District Court. In most cases, the household which had received the paper then found that the carrier showed up later to collect for the paper. As it turned out, the carriers were being charged for the newspaper and then had to collect to get their money back.

With these facts in hand, Donald Maul, General Manager of the *Courier-Express*, and Daniel Mason, co-counsel with Frederick Furth of Furth, Farner and Wong of San Francisco, approached National Marketing Associates, Inc., with the idea of having an independent polling organization carry out a survey of *News* distribution practices. The writer, as consultant to National Marketing Associates, was retained to supervise the study and, if necessary, to appear before the U.S. District Court in a contempt hearing to explain and defend the methodology and interpretation of the survey.

On Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, December 4 through 6, 1977, a telephone survey of Erie and Niagara Counties and the Buffalo SMSA was carried out by Survey Service of Western New York, an affiliate of National Marketing Associates, Inc.



The survey focused on 404 respondents who were paid home-subscribers to the *Buffalo Evening News*. It indicated that 31.22 percent of the sample had not ordered, but had received, the *Sunday News*. To arrive at circulation figures the writer worked backwards from the total circulation figures of the former *Buffalo Saturday Evening News* because, as a matter of corporate policy, the paid circulation figures for the Buffalo SMSA had never been published. By excluding papers delivered outside of Erie and Niagara Counties, library and corporate subscriptions, and newsstand sales, it was estimated that there had been

There is no doubt that the predatory behavior of the *Buffalo News* financially damaged both the *Buffalo News* and the *Courier-Express*.

235,938 paid subscribers to the former *Saturday Evening News*. Using that figure as a base, it was estimated that 129,065 copies of the *Sunday News* had been distributed on December 4, 1977. This meant that an estimated 40,296 papers had been "forced" on households which had not ordered them and that there were only an estimated 88,769 paid subscribers to the *Sunday News* in Erie and Niagara Counties.

On December 7, 1977, a hearing was held in the U.S. District Court, with Judge Bricant once again presiding. At the locally owned newspaper in a market area of 1,243,000 people, and neither paper was up to par. During this period respondents to in-depth studies of the Buffalo area made for the Chamber of Commerce termed the *Courier-Express* under the helm of Cowles as a "Dick and Jane" newspaper and the *Buffalo Evening News* a "Wall Street Journal for Buffalo."

There is no doubt that the predatory behavior of the *Buffalo News* financially damaged both the *Buffalo News* and the *Courier-Express*. Reports on Blue Chip Stamp stockholders meetings indicated that the *Buffalo News* was losing about \$3,000,000 a year supporting the Sunday edition and the damage to the *Courier-Express* was, in the words of Donald Maul, "irreparable and fatal."

The *Courier-Express* was purchased by Cowles Media Company with a great deal of fanfare. But what it meant to the people of western New York was now there was no large, locally owned newspaper in a market area of 1,243,000 people, and neither paper was up to par. During this period respondents to in-depth studies of the Buffalo area made for the Chamber of Commerce termed the *Courier-Express* under the helm of Cowles as a "Dick and Jane" newspaper and the *Buffalo Evening News* a "Wall Street Journal for Buffalo."

Both papers struggled along until it was finally announced that the *Courier-Express* would cease publication on September 19, 1982. Prior to the closing of the *Courier-Express*, the *Sunday News* had grown to a total paid circulation of only 157,000. Several months after the closing of its rival, the total paid circulation of the *Sunday News* had jumped into the neighborhood of 300,000 and the paper generated a profit. Roger P. Parkinson, publisher of the *Courier-Express* when it ran \$20,000,000 into debt, moved on to Minneapolis to become senior vice president and deputy publisher of the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*, a major newspaper owned by Cowles Media Company. On January 29, 1983 Mr. Parkinson became its publisher.

Buffalo, however, did not fare as well as Parkinson. It was left a one-newspaper town with control of that paper residing in the corporate headquarters of Blue Chip Stamps. Cowles Media Company left more than 1,000 unemployed newspaper workers in Buffalo, and a set of empty buildings on Main Street for which the company is currently seeking a major reduction in property taxes. Aside from the buildings, the only active vestige of the *Courier-Express* left in Buffalo is CableScope, now stripped away from the newspaper and controlled by Cowles Media Company. Even this may change, because in late June, Cowles Media requested that the Buffalo Common Council extend its cable franchise from the 1986 expiration date until 1991, and approve sale of CableScope to Tele-Communications Inc. of Denver. If the extension and sale are approved, CableScope plans to renovate and move into part of the abandoned *Courier-Express* complex. Members of the Common Council have reacted to the prospect of having control of the city's largest cable franchise centered in Denver by asking the Department of Community Development to develop a bidding package to be used in awarding a franchise after 1986. The Common Council will also consider turning the franchise into a city-owned and operated cable system, thus returning one medium to local ownership and control. □



Mass Media Stereotyping and Ethnic and Religious Groups

Bernard Rubin

The shorthand language of stereotyping is quick, easy, and pervasive — but usually wrong.

Stereotyping can be useful whenever one needs to convey in shorthand a body of descriptive messages about a person or a group. These distillations are not inherently good or bad, beneficial or harmful, elevating or degrading, or true or false. Every such intellectual exchange, which paints a picture with a few broad brush strokes, must be examined carefully before categorization.

For example, one can applaud a clarion call from Pope John Paul to “good Christians” in the context of one of his pilgrimages around the world, without requiring proof that the masses of people observed in the television scenes live up to his high standards. “Born Again” Christians are, it seems, forever explaining to the rest of us how one arrives at such a state of grace. Stereotypes are not substitutes for identifications or definitive characterizations.

It is easier to package the “You’ve come a long way, baby” new woman in a cigarette advertisement than it is to depict the so-called liberated woman in a documentary film. Stereotyping works best when moral, social, economic, political, and philosophic issues are not central to the communication process. That is not to say that profound issues and values are not easily conveyed by stereotypes, but to conclude that only fools or very wise individuals would rely on stereotyping as a prime means of conveying important ideas. More accidents are possible than is appreciated when one uses stereotypes as substitutes for deeper explanatory methods of communication. Try, for instance, to typify all middle-class blacks in one short-burst word or pictorial (painting, photograph, etc.) effort. Or, try to stereotype all Native Americans, all Moonies, all of the steel industry’s unemployed, or all of the students of theology at

the Harvard Divinity School. It’s not likely that you’ll succeed.

Nevertheless, stereotyping influences more people daily for short- and long-run effects than any of us would like to admit. The highest appeals for inspired activity as well as the crudest calls for mean work are framed in stereotypical language that describes “them” or “us.” Racists find stereotyping most useful for packaging lies, slanders, deceits, and innuendoes as they go about the business of tearing at groups they would destroy. At the other end of the social scale are honest do-gooders who disseminate stereotypical messages with patient anticipation of a commonwealth devoted to personal and intergroup harmony. They paint the pictures they would like to see.

Walter Lippmann, in his book *Public Opinion* (1922), discussed stereotypes at length. He transferred the label from its usage in the printing industry (molded type plates used to produce exact copies from the originals) and signalled its utility whenever people want to catalog, categorize, or capsule ideas or situations so that others may make easy references for easy recognitions. He made us realize that, “What matters is the character of the stereotypes and the gullibility with which we employ them.” Among his illustrations we find: “He is an intellectual. He is a plutocrat. He is a foreigner. He is a ‘South European.’ He is from Back Bay. He is a Harvard Man.” Lippmann goes on, “How different from the statement: He is a Yale Man. He is a regular fellow. He is a West Pointer. He is a Greenwich Villager. He is an intellectual banker. He is from Main Street.”

Mr. Lippmann, in 1922, did not realize how unsavory all of the he-this and he-that would appear to present-day humanists anxious to live in a world of opportunity and respect, regardless of gender. He was savant enough, though, to warn us that there was a direct connection between blind spots and stereotypes. “Uncritically held, the stereotype not only censors out much that needs to be taken into account, but when the day of reckoning comes, and the stereotype is shattered, likely as not that which it did take wisely into account is shipwrecked with it.”

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Mr. Lippmann's intellectual accomplishments in this century in the areas of punditry about public affairs — both national and international — rank him high against any contenders, but he had his own blind spots. One story that he did not deal with sufficiently was the Nazi design for destruction which decimated European Jewry. Mr. Lippmann was not without flaw.

Indeed, a conspicuous lesson about stereotyping can be learned from the famed Walter Lippmann, world affairs expert extraordinaire of the American press, a man whose influence with editorial writers and columnists exceeded that of his contemporaries in journalism. The lesson is how devastating bias can be. For reasons having to do more with his own psychological needs and fears, from the time he was a young man, Lippmann wanted to be with what he perceived as the American majority. He molded himself into a lead type slug and wrote WASP. With his German Jewish background, he cast a suspicious eye on the hordes of Jewish immigrants emigrating to the United States from eastern and southern Europe. Their looks, ways, and religious customs offended him to a large degree. Not only was he perplexed to find that they were out of step with the prevailing Anglo-Saxon heritage and drives (how could it have been otherwise?), but also he was determined to be the advice giver, showing them the way to an enlightened status.

The fascinating aspect of this Lippmann fixation was how dogged he was in its defense and how he elaborated on the theme through the years. He even refused to deal personally with the Holocaust. We are indebted to Ronald Steel, his biographer, for the incisive book, *Walter Lippmann and the American Century*, which reveals a brilliant person with some mental warts.

It is well to bear in mind that Lippmann became more and more pessimistic, as the years went by, about the virtues of public opinion as determined by the masses of citizens.

In 1922, the same year that Lippmann's book, *Public Opinion*, appeared, he wrote (I choose one of his less blatant comments to reveal his mental approach to stereotyping):

I worry about Broadway on a Sunday afternoon, where everything that is feverish and unventilated in the congestion of a city rises up as a warning that you cannot build up a decent civilization among people who, when they are at last, after centuries of denial, free to go to the land and cleanse their bodies, now huddle together in a steam-heated slum.¹

Eleven years later, he explained, with the disinterest of the truly dispassionate, that repression of the Jews, "by satisfying the lust of the Nazis who feel they must conquer somebody and the cupidity of those Nazis who want jobs, is a kind of lightning rod which protects Europe." To be fair, Lippmann admitted that there was "ruthless injustice . . . meted out to the German Jews," but one had to look at the whole picture and, downplaying the "annual passions of a great revolution," hear

"the authentic voice of a genuinely civilized people."² After World War II, Lippmann never wrote about the death camps, though the full story of the Holocaust was revealed by legions of his fellow journalists.

There is an important lesson in the fact that Lippmann made stereotyping so clear to all the students of public opinion from 1922 to today, and yet he failed to appreciate how deeply intellectual prejudice could also serve as naked emotionalism to mold distorted pictures of persons and groups. One is forced to ask to what extent bad stereotyping can be traced to sheer snobbery or to stupidity in bypassing the real issues of how the press covers the poor, the distressed, and the downtrodden by the superficially educated who have trained themselves to avoid reality.

So far, the emphasis has been on the descriptive powers of stereotypes, and psychological backgrounds to what is communicated. There is another aspect which receives less attention but which is equally important. Much stereotyping evolves from what is not conveyed. Much stereotyping results from what is omitted in the mass media.

Recently, I had need to pore through the past three years of *Newsweek* magazine, looking for topics to assign for student research. I wanted to make sure that the list I drew up for term paper work for a class in public affairs and communications did not depend upon my memory alone, so I did some content analysis. It became clear as I examined the *Newsweek* stories, issue by issue, that there was extremely limited coverage of Asians, blacks, Native Americans, Hispanics, and students included in a number of examples I wanted to track.

To be sure, there were feature stories whenever some news event was linked to a group member, but there was little else. *Newsweek*, I knew, has had its troubles with coverage of women's affairs. Several years ago, in a law suit brought by its women employees, the magazine was revealed as somewhat insensitive to even such matters as the equality of its editorial personnel. Spurred by the judiciary, owners took corrective action. I also knew that for liberal critics coverage of minorities by the bulk of the American electronic and print press was not satisfactory. From turning the pages of *Newsweek*, I learned more — that actions do not necessarily lead to reactions and thereby complete the processes of relationships. Given what I didn't see in the pages of that magazine about the day-to-day, week-to-week, year-to-year lives of minorities in this country, I concluded that there must be a profound public reaction to the absence of reporting. I surmised that stereotypical images must be created when clients of the mass media have to fill in their own shorthand pictures of peoples who remain shadows or blurs in the press. Using that common illustration about the perception of content — "Is the glass half full or half empty?" — it is evident that when we deal with news, the context any of the media provide us with determines how we view the world. The empty portion of the news "glass" is actually fillable, if there were proper interest in subjects usually ignored or bypassed.

Nationally glorified politicians, those who manipulate giant businesses and industries, international terrorists, and theatrical personalities are usually found in the filled part of *Newsweek* or *The Boston Globe* or the ABC, CBS, and NBC networks' evening news programs. They typify what is considered newsworthy. In a sense, the mass media are organizational stereotypes because they so seldom stray from what was made clearer before. On the other hand, the masses of ordinary citizens are usually out of view or, if analyzed, made more shadowy by media reliance upon stereotypical coverage.

When presented fairly, the stereotypical imageries of groups depicted in the mass media have certain virtues. However, there is widespread concern among these groups at the casual manner in which they are designated or categorized. The Irish Americans must have had enough of rote comments about the "fighting Irish," "Stolid Swedes," "clannish Italians," "stupid Poles," "business-oriented Jews," "musically gifted blacks," "cruel Indians," "greasy Hispanics," "Puritanical Yankees," and "cunning Asians" should all be consigned to the archives of historical treatment about prejudice. If there be truth to such stereotype-casting as is alleged by some scholars even today, they should be forced to cite the evidence in the context of each of their reports.³

The persistence of stereotyping can have a discouraging effect upon young people, and may account for lack of progress in certain areas. A Mr. Romatowski, who had served on the Yonkers, New York, Municipal Housing Authority for 15 years as of early 1979, spoke to the issue in trying to account for the reason why leadership skills which he saw abundant in Polish-American organizations hadn't led to much leadership on the wider political scene: "We just don't get anywhere in politics. I could understand it with the first generation. They weren't educated. But I can't understand it with the second generation. Some of it probably stems from the old stereotypes, which are just now breaking down."⁴

Television is a prime mover of stereotypes. Remember, please, the contents of the glass — half full or half empty! My colleague, Dr. Earle Barcus, conducted a content analysis for Action for Children's Television. He studied 38 hours of children's programs shown in Boston during January 1981.

Of the 1145 television characters that appeared . . . only 42 were black and 47 belonged to other minority groups. . . 3.7 percent of the characters were black; 3.1 percent were Hispanic, and 0.8 percent were Asian. . .

As for females, Barcus said "Only 16 percent of all major characters in the program sample were female."⁵

I did a small computer run on minorities and stereotyping to get samples of how the wind was blowing during the last two years. Here are some examples, beginning with a hopeful current.

• *The Los Angeles Times*, March 31, 1982. "U.S. textbook

publishers have made major changes in elementary school presentations because of highly vocal pressures brought by women's groups and minorities in past two decades. Illustrations now tend to show boys and girls in equal numbers and integration between white and black children. Racial stereotypes have been largely eliminated, along with sex-biased language and passive feminine symbols."

• *The New York Times*, October 12, 1981. "Officials of Venereal Disease National Hotline challenge stereotype of venereal disease victims as young, poor, and non-white. Reports



only 18 percent of callers are under 20 years old, while about 83 percent are white and over 50 percent earn more than \$15,000 annually."

• *The New York Times*, January 27, 1981. Report by University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School of Communications found that commercial television may be blocking public understanding and support of science. Survey of large samples of U.S. viewers finds that scientists are portrayed as older, less romantically involved, more dangerous, more doomed to failure, less sociable, less attractive, and shorter than other television characters. Finds science to be held in lower esteem by women, low income groups, non-whites, and less educated viewers.

• *The Washington Post*, October 28, 1979. Magda Abu Fadil asserts only U.S. minority that remains butt of ethnic jokes, slurs and outright prejudice is Arab community in U.S. Asserts most other minorities have organizations for objecting to offensive material.

• *The New York Times*, December 16, 1982. Residents of Portstewart (Northern Ireland) explain how country's political and religious troubles have impacted on their lives. Say there are few adult men or women in the country who are not conditioned, upon meeting a stranger, to mark that person automatically as either Protestant or Catholic, through clues of name, occupation or accent.

Stereotyping leads are sometimes slyly hidden in the context of an otherwise innocuous story — just enough provided to make a point whether that point is justified or not. Editors should hesitate to censor bias out of such stories, but they could justifiably ask for more data so that authors could decide if

they meant what they said. *The Boston Globe* ran a story⁶ by one of its staff members about a fine new author who sold her first novel on her first submission to a publisher. Susan Monsky so impressed the firm of Houghton Mifflin with sixty completed pages that they accepted the book *Midnight Suppers*. Carol Stocker's "Living Pages" feature, almost one-half page in length, was something of a tribute to the new author. At the risk of being picky with a few lines out of context, I take those gratuitous lines out for your review. "Monsky tells the story in a soft-spoken Southern accent which doesn't quite



seem to go with her Semitic features and intellectual-looking wire-rimmed glasses." She grew up in Montgomery, Alabama. As for the Semitic features, one has the feeling in reading the piece in the *Globe* that Lippmann's advice for Jews to lay low in this society until they were indistinguishable from the folks he admired still festers. I call attention to what seems to be a small business of stereotyping *because it is so small*. Hidden away in an otherwise laudable account is the hint that Jews really are different.

Today, imagery through stereotypes of groups tends to harm more than help those groups. Too many issues of the most vexing and pressing sort have to be determined on an individualistic basis. Simplistic assignments of outlook on the extremely sensitive subject of abortion, for example, may be made by reference to a religious group's declared stand. As a consequence, Roman Catholics should be easy targets for identification about their outlooks and decisions. One could stereotypify any individual who was a devout Roman Catholic and who responded piously and automatically to the teachings of that Church. Most Orthodox Jews would, presumably, be susceptible to such identification, as would a great number of Protestants. The problem comes because we are such a concentric and democratic society. Individuals differ, on even so basic a subject as the rights and duties of human beings, even when they attend the same church on holy days and share the same religious traditions. One must be careful to delve deeply into the subject before mixing people into the same public opinion batter. One believer may be totally against abortion; another

may see it is a morally acceptable escape route under certain conditions; still another may be at odds with the basic clerical stand for personal or humanistic or social or economic reasons.

With the subject of abortion the given, it soon becomes clear to the researcher that public opinions that can be allied sweep across faiths and vary according to time, place, condition, who, what, when, how, and where.

The Moral Majority has certainly taken its bruises from the mass media, which persist in depicting its leaders and members as all cut from the same tree. It is easy to use stereotyping when reporters can in words and pictures portray the Fundamentalists whose origins and outlooks owe so much to the so-called "Bible Belt." Any reflective review reveals far more complexity. Reporters find themselves dealing with, among other things: a basic branch of the generally conservative social movement in the country; a series of responses (under one banner) to the increased permissiveness in the presentations of the mass media — both print and electronic; comparatively recent developments affecting the nature of public and private education in the nation; an alliance of religious and civil associations calling for enhancement of what they consider to be traditional values; one series of responses to the over-urbanization of our society; an important alliance trying to shape foreign policy.

It is too darned easy to present the Moral Majority movement in stereotypical terms, although it is made up of similar but diverse groups. And the media take the easy way too often. Let them show the "old boys" and the demagogery as it exists, but also report the Moral Majority as a complex mosaic of persons, groups, interests, and views. A stereotypical picture into which the Moral Majority may fit as a whole may prevail, but that picture should be the sum of its parts and not just a corner of a bigger scene which is out of focus.

Now that I have made it clear that the Moral Majority is too complex to be digested in mere outline, may I remind you that I have not attempted organization evaluation for your review. Should you ask me to begin such a project, I warn you that if I came up with stereotypes from my research, they would be numerous and clear pictures. My stereotypes would, in the words of television, be a story board etched fine with much detail.

Can a stereotype be detailed? How else are we to conclude other than to plumb for detail, when looking into: human rights, the nuclear freeze, the middle class, the labor movement, Japanese employment, managerial and technological prowess, the contestants in the Middle East crises, child abuse, clerics in politics, obscurity in the media, oligarchies and peasants in Latin America, or "feminism" as a movement and as a cultural phenomenon.

The mass media are hungry to find ways around research — in short, to get as much out of as little research as possible. Marva Collins, a black woman teacher who lives in Chicago, initiated her own teaching experiment about six years ago, founding a private school in her home. The students were

primarily black youngsters. At the Westside Preparatory School she and her staff attempted to improve academic skills, building lesson plans on methods to increase the motivation and inspiration of students, many of whom had been considered uneducable. The CBS series *60 Minutes* showed her and her students "poring over Shakespeare, Tolstoy, and Plato." As is not unusual whenever fame dissolves into notoriety, controversy resulted from the publicity. In "dozens of articles in national publications," Ms. Collins had been labeled a "superteacher" and a "miracle worker."

Whatever the final judgments on her Westfield Preparatory School, she has complained, "I've never said I'm a superteacher, a miracle worker, all the names they gave me. It's unfair to expect me to live up to it. I'm just a teacher."⁷

Another complaint about stereotyping through word pictures was published in a 1982 "My Turn" essay in *Newsweek*⁸ by a former professor at Hofstra Law School, who moved to the Amanda Cooperative Village in 1980. Sheila Rush describes the Village as a spiritual community located in Southern California where she went for inspiration and growth. It is a work-study community which Rush notes, "is organized as a village, with an elected government, open decision-making forums. . . . There are both private and community-owned housing and businesses, a farm, a dairy, a market, schools, a meditation retreat and a temple used for spiritual observances. . . . People come and go as they please. . . . three rules: no drugs, no liquor, no dogs. We have a spiritual director whose influence is undeniable, yet no greater than that of the founder of any organization whose wisdom and compassion have been confirmed by experience."

What bothers Rush is that reporters who can visit and see whatever they want "with few if any restrictions on whom they can talk to, what they can quote" can then write about a community she doesn't recognize. "They call it a 'cult' — at best we are a 'commune' — our spiritual director is said to be a virtual dictator." Former Professor Rush concludes, "History reveals that public acceptance of new religious groups takes time. In the meantime, I hope and, yes, pray that offending members of the press become more aware of their biases and of all their possible consequences."

Rush has a point. When we think back to the Jonestown tragedy — one that was not grasped in its essentials by the press, the State of California, and the U.S. Government in time to save the lives of hundreds of people — we ought to expect that charges be verified, that press designations be confirmed, that sloppy stereotypes be avoided.

In 1971 Pope Paul VI approved "*Communio et Progressio*," a document dealing with modern mass communications media. Basically, the pastoral instruction, according to the editors of *America*, "demonstrated an awareness that the rapid development of communications technology had resulted in a real shift in consciousness, from a Gutenberg era dominated

by print to a video age where image, symbol, and more immediate impressions formed a new human language." The educational and social opportunities before the media gave rise to a certain optimistic tone in the instruction. A decade later, the editors of *America* cite evidence of the "cultural erosion" that the media can promote. One illustration points up how Western life has been often stereotyped: "Observers working in economically developing nations point out that mass media invariably present images of modern urban life and an affluent, Western style of living that young people in rural areas find unsettling."⁹

In my own numerous trips to the Third World in Asia and Africa, I find indisputable evidence to support the above contentions.

The *Minneapolis Star* announced a policy in late 1980 to keep injurious stereotypes and labels from its news pages. Commendations for the new policy came swiftly from the Jewish Community Relations Council, and the Anti-Defamation League of Minnesota and the Dakotas. The director of the Council wrote Stephen Isaacs, then editor of the *Minneapolis Star*, supporting the "laudatory aim, not easily accomplished considering the cultural stereotypes which have become part of our folklore and thus embedded in the mental images so many people hold of other groups."

Isaacs wrote that the newspaper strives to maintain news columns that are free of inadvertent slurs — whether based on race, color, nationality, locale, religion, marital or parental status, physical and/or mental status, sex, sexual preference or age.

. . . The policy statement calls for alertness to "unwitting complicity" in what amounts to reinforcing roles or labels tending to sustain stereotypes that may be offensive, whether blatantly or subtly.

Writers and editors are reminded that they should be sensitive to unintended but invidious dual standards sometimes applied to men and women in newspaper descriptions. Isaacs gave readers an example of citing family status when women make news, but using professional status when men do.

The *Star*, the report says, should avoid mentions of race unless that mention is specifically germane to the point of an article and should not routinely use shorthand descriptions of juries by race or sex unless race or sex is used to make a point in the article.¹⁰

We all have a great stake in media stereotyping, and we are reminded frequently of the moral, philosophic, political, and social consequences. I was very much disturbed, and continue to be so, by the plights of Haitian refugees who somehow made it to our shores — usually to the closest points they could reach in Florida. Within sight of some of Miami's luxury hotels, women, men, and children drowned when vastly overcrowded boats, held together by bits and pieces of wire or wood or cord, disintegrated. Others came to this haven after

drifting for many days without food or water. Fleeing from political tyranny, from the poverty of the poorest country in the hemisphere, and towards the hope that the United States still represents around the world, they sought sanctuary.

They were met by a hostile federal administration, which declared that they were not necessarily political refugees but were economic refugees. As such, they were likely to be sent home. Some who made it to small Caribbean islands of other sovereign governments were sent back against their will.

Why were the Haitians not treated like the vast majority of the Cuban refugees? Was it because they were categorized as undesirable blacks who spoke *patois* French and who fled with little other than their lives? Was it because they were stereotyped as peasants — black, untutored, unskilled — who could not contribute to any grand political debates framed by East-West politics? Was it because we Americans have made a stereotype out of the word “refugee”? What was good enough for one type of refugees should be equally good for other types of refugees. We will have to come to grips with such issues.

Our middle-class aspirations — which I am devoted to — do not blind my eyes or close my heart to what is going on in the world. Those who fled from “Baby Doc” Duvalier and his henchmen, who take whatever water there is from the rock of economic despair that is Haiti, deserved better than they got. It took too long for the American public to sense the issues, even though we have at our command the best and most democratic communications system in the world.

What is at the root of such confusion and misapplications of traditional policies toward refugees? I believe that we are trained by television news to watch the pictures so closely that we are almost unmindful of the captions, as it were. We have been trained to observe interesting scenes without having the blood run hot or cold. Those scenes have sometimes been horrible, but we sense them as part of the horror of the theater or of the theatrical films of which we are such devoted fans. The smell of disaster, the sense of danger, the genuine anger at what is being done to our brothers and sisters steams out of our minds like vapors from the tea kettle just removed from the fire. A few moments and all is cold, the emotional taste of whatever contents remain is flat. We observe the scenes of the tragedies in the news like robot viewers responding by command to electronic signals.

It is not too harsh to say that so much of what we see is falsely classified as entertainment. We have gone too far in merging fictional adventure with realism. El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Haiti are all observable through the filter that too many of us intellectual, middle-class types find a useful mechanism to keep pain and anguish out of our consciousness. There are no left-right politics in what I am saying. Let arch ideologues deal with such. The Soviets screen Afghanistan from their people with controls over the media and idiotic word games. These enemies, according to the leftist totalitarians trading in disinformation, are “bandits,” and those are “running dogs,” and those are “lackeys of imperialism.” When it comes to stereotyping, the anti-democratic forces in the world, from Nazis to Communists, make us look like babes.

It is equally hard for us to see the real problems of the unemployed, because there is so much juggling of pet stereotypical phrases such as “the media society,” “the service society,” the “automated economy.” For two years we have dealt better with the price of gold than with the travesty inherent in offering butter and cheese to our poor when our granaries and storehouses overflow. Too much of what we see are partial stereotyped pictures with vital segments obliterated because of our own blind spots.

I refuse to believe that, as citizens of a community cherishing the ideal of equity, we cannot make stereotypes work more for us than against us.

One key to progress would be to recognize that we are often servants to the masters of advertising. Those masters have trained us to respond like Pavlov’s dog to stimuli. “Buy this” or “want that” is what it is all about. Let us mix in the advertising more of the “know this,” or “understand that,” or “feel this” and “see that” with the eyes, the brain, and the heart working in conjunction with one another. At the very least, it is high time to take the first steps towards a re-evaluation of stereotypes. Above all, it is crucial that those connected with the mass media commence to study the uses of stereotypes for social purposes. □

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The American Media: Bridge or Barrier?

James R. Whelan

A major metropolitan daily, successfully launched amid technological crises and media misunderstandings, stays the course of conservative outlook.

The nineteenth-century editor and abolitionist Henry Ward Beecher once described newspapers as "The schoolmasters of the common people." "That endless book, the newspaper," Beecher wrote, "is our national glory."

Personally, I no longer can think of our newspapers — or our major media, electronic and print — as a national glory. I do not, however, go to the other extreme, represented by George Bernard Shaw, who once wrote: "Newspapers are unable, seemingly, to discriminate between a bicycle accident and the collapse of civilization."

But there is a problem, and a serious, gnawing and pervasive one, and that is, I believe, the elitist, godless, and decidedly left-wing character of the media, in the country, and in so much of the non-Communist world.

A problem which — far from building or strengthening bridges of friendship — tears them down, sowing distrust and suspicion of institutions, of traditional values, sowing distrust and suspicion among those who should be friends and allies; a problem which translates, through the biases and mind-sets which constitute media orthodoxy, as a weakening of the West's ability to defend ourselves against the relentless, unrelenting onslaughts of Communism.

James R. Whelan, editor and publisher of The Washington Times and Nieman Fellow '67, delivered the above speech before the Rotary International Annual Conference in District 636, at Traverse City, Michigan, last May. His talk has been slightly edited for publication.

The Washington Times, now in its second year, is a corporately owned newspaper and a subsidiary of business interests affiliated with the Unification Church, founded by the Reverend Sun Myung Moon.



And it is a problem which — no matter what your own outlook, liberal or conservative — ought to concern all of us, because a democracy cannot function if only one side of the debate is heard.

These are some of the thoughts I would like to put before you. I will speak frankly, which may be a surprise, since I myself am a denizen of the media. I will touch briefly on another, and yet more serious crisis than my crisis of identity: the crisis of public confidence in our media; a distrust of us in the media, which fuels and strengthens a public clamor to curb our freedom, to curb our increasingly disturbing power.

And I will speak of my own newspaper and its role as a counterweight to the forces I have alluded to. Let me take up this point first: Why *The Washington Times*? How and why does its existence go beyond the mere question of competition of only such narrow significance as to warrant no place in a program such as this?

Changes in the military equation notwithstanding, the fact is that Washington remains the most significant and crucial center of decision and power in the world. Whoever influences the mechanisms of policy and decision-making in Washington, obviously, clearly influences events and perceptions and agendas around the world. We have ample evidence already that *The Washington Times* not only has continuing impact in Washington itself, but in capitals and chanceries around the world. I will return to that later in my remarks, but now, to indicate further the point about the significance of Washington as a center of media concentration, a statistic or two are in order.

The current issue of Hudson's media directory lists 2,989 news organizations in Washington. There are an estimated 10,000 legitimate journalists and news writers and gatherers in Washington; 4,355 of them alone are accredited to cover the U.S. Congress. Furthermore, journalists tend not only to run in packs, but tend to look toward the same sources for setting their own agendas for what makes news.

The power to influence major public issues and national

GENESIS OF A NEWSPAPER

We date the founding of *The Washington Times* from March 1, 1982, because it was on that day that we produced our first prototype, and it was on that day that I arrived to begin the job of recruiting the professionals needed to produce the newspaper.

We published our first edition 78 days later, on May 17, 1982.

In those 78 days, we had to recruit several hundred persons — against the specter of what we then called “the image problem”; organize top to bottom to produce a newspaper; move from makeshift offices in this building to even more makeshift offices in our own; furnish and equip our overcrowded and hopelessly inefficient quarters; find printers able to produce the newspaper since our own presses were not ready; invent computer connections and technologies never before heard of, and much more.

Yet, on May 17 — only 78 days after the count-down started — 144,190 copies of *The Washington Times* rolled from presses at two plants thirty miles apart — and neither closer than eight miles from our own plant; and those 144,190 copies were distributed with relatively few hitches, to 3,500 points of sale, virtually blanketing the nation’s seventh largest metropolitan market.

I call that miraculous.

—J.R.W.

Times is already a potent force in the opinion mix of our nation’s capital. But that does not mean that at *The Washington Times* we are merely offering more of the same. The sameness, I have already described, which is troubling, which is menacing to our democratic institutions. The answer is no, and the explanation resides in a cursory examination of what news is all about.

To begin with, news is not a lump of coal, waiting to be dug out and transported to the eager consumer. News is the drama of life, full of sounds and furies, signifying — to a disquieting degree — pretty much what we reporters and editors say it signifies. News is, in a word, what we make it out to be; stories that we choose to tell and stories we choose not to tell; the emphasis we choose to give them, and how we tell them. In such a setting, the cause of truth, of healthy, political or social or economic debate is served not just by a multiplicity of sources, but by an authentic diversity of sources: of competing, conflicting perspectives. That was true before the advent of advocacy reporting. It is even more so now, in the present context where reporters — with or without the justifications of the complexity of the issues and the times — tend to see themselves as participants in events more than mere chroniclers of them.

From the beginning, we at *The Washington Times* set out to provide not just excellence in journalism, but also that indispensable quality of choice: of competing, conflicting viewpoints in collision with the leftist mind-set of most of the American media, certainly the major media.

Such competition in the framework of ideas is clearly of special importance in the measure that the media not only reports events but shapes them. Michael O’Neill, in that remarkable farewell address I have alluded to, put it well: “No longer are we just the messengers, the observers on the sidelines, witches’ mirrors faithfully telling society how it looks. Now we are deeply imbedded in the democratic process itself as principal actors, rather than bit players or mere audience. No longer do we merely cover the news. The result of this, is that the mass media, especially television, are not only changing the way government is covered, but the way it functions.” And this, of course means that the crucial relationship between the people and their elected representatives, the very core of our political system has been altered fundamentally.

Kurt M. Luedtke, former editor of *The Detroit Free Press* and the author of *Absence of Malice*, put it more starkly: “On your discretionary judgments hang reputations and careers, jail sentences and stock prices, Broadway shows and water rates. You are the mechanism of reward and punishment, the arbiter of right and wrong, the roving eye of daily judgment. You no longer shape public opinion, you have supplanted it. There are good men and women who will not stand for office, concerned that you will find their flaws or invent them. Many people who have dealt with you wish they had not. You are capricious and unpredictable, you are fearsome and you are feared because there is never any way to know whether this time you will be

elections, to diffuse the authority and self-esteem of Congress and the other political bodies across the nation, to make — or even break — presidents is a development that troubles thoughtful persons in and out of the media.

Michael J. O’Neill, then editor of the *New York Daily News*, was so disturbed by it that in his farewell address a year ago as president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, he worried that we may be upsetting the historic checks and balances invented by our forebears. That concern is shared, for example, by Samuel P. Huntington of Harvard who has observed that during the 1960’s and 1970’s the media was the institution whose power expanded most significantly, and that posed the most serious challenge to governmental authority. Max H. Kampelman, a Washington attorney, took it a step beyond, observing that the relatively unrestrained power of the media may well represent an even greater challenge to democracy than the much-publicized abuse of power by the Executive and the Congress. The subject invites further consideration. But to do so would take me too far from my chosen theme, so let me remark on the countervailing role of *The Washington Times*.

This is relevant because the fact is that *The Washington*

fair and accurate or you will not. And there is virtually nothing that we can do about it." One is tempted to dwell on these disturbing indictments Mr. Luedtke makes. Let me, instead, take up the second of my themes: the elitist, left-wing character of the media.

Just about a year ago, a pair of social scientists, S. Robert Lichter and Stanley Rothman, surveyed 240 of the top print and broadcast reporters in Washington and came up with, among other things, these findings, which clearly locate our media elites well to the left of the American people as a whole. Fifty-four percent described themselves as liberal, only 19 percent as right of center. In presidential elections they voted, not surprisingly, almost exactly the opposite of the U.S. public. For example, while two-thirds of the American electorate was choosing Nixon over McGovern, two-thirds of the media elite was voting for McGovern over Nixon.

On economic issues, journalists strongly support the welfare state. They tend to believe that the United States is an unjust society. And most support the new standards of morality that emerged in the 1960's. For example — and I'm still quoting Lichter and Rothman — only 15 percent among those media elites surveyed in Washington felt that adultery is immoral. In a comparable Lichter-Rothman survey of business leaders, 48 percent of the businessmen surveyed thought adultery was immoral. This whole question of bias in the media, the left-wing bias, has become so inescapably obvious, that even the *Bulletin* of the American Society of Newspaper Editors devoted a recent issue to the topic, "In search of newsroom conservatives: What it means if you don't find any." Nicholas Von Hoffman, in that issue, offered an explanation, by the way, as to why journalism attracts so many liberals, "To begin with," he said, "there are several kinds you tend to get. Those, for example, who become journalists because it wouldn't be plausible to become ministers. There are the frustrated social workers. And then there are those attracted by the generally mistaken idea that journalism is a higher form of law enforcement, commanded to get the male-factors.

"Let's face it," says Von Hoffman, "journalism recruits liberals because there's a commercial need for them going way back into history. There's an endless journalistic market for the bleeding heart, for stories about birds with broken wings — to which this decidedly conservative journalist responds — would that those liberal journalists confine their activities to stories about birds with broken wings!"

I cannot leave this theme without telling you that if the present is bad, the future looks worse. Lichter and Rothman have done a follow-up survey of 28 candidates for master's degrees at the Columbia School of Journalism, regarded by many as the leading graduate school in our trade. Eighty-five percent described themselves as liberal, only 11 percent as conservative. You'll recall that among working journalists, the percentages were 54 percent liberal, 19 percent conservative. Among the students, only 4 percent voted in 1980 for Reagan;

WHO'S WHO AT THE WASHINGTON TIMES

What is *The Washington Times*? It is, first and foremost, a great newspaper.

It is a secular newspaper — neither advocating any religion, nor seeking the protections that would be afforded under the First Amendment, were we in fact to have a religious affiliation. It is secular not only in its content, it is secular in its human composition: of our present 1,000 employees, fewer than 10 percent are members of the Unification Church.

Neither the publisher, nor associate publisher, nor general manager, nor any of the five division managers — are members of the Unification Church. In editorial, you have to go down to the fifth level to find a member of that church. I hasten to add: We do not discriminate against Moonies — we don't discriminate against — or for — anyone, and we don't because we are a secular newspaper, subject to the same laws and regulations, governing any other secular business.

In fact, we make this assertion: *The Washington Times* is more independent of our ownership — both operationally as well as editorially — than is any corporately owned newspaper in this or any other country we are familiar with.

—J.R.W.

59 percent for Carter — and 29 percent — for John Anderson. On economic topics, only a quarter of the students believe that the private enterprise system is fair to workers; and only a third favor less regulation of business. Almost 40 percent favor public ownership of corporations. Twice as many students as working journalists think that what is needed is a complete overhaul of our social institutions. Three quarters of the students — 20 percent more than working journalists — believe that the United States exploits Third World countries, and is responsible for their poverty.

It's no wonder that public confidence in the media has declined so dramatically. A Harris survey several months ago showed that the credibility of print and electronic journalism in the United States was at its lowest point ever. Only 16 percent of the people said that they had a great deal of confidence in the press.

A number of the elders of our profession have lately and belatedly taken grudging note of the decline of public confidence in us. Tom Johnson of *The Los Angeles Times* — reflecting on a survey done by his paper which showed that 40

percent of the people polled thought that the media misuses its great power by acting irresponsibly — had this to say: “In this atmosphere of suspicion, the corporation or the government agency with an ax to grind find themselves on common ground with the public that also believes the media may have gone too far.”

... whenever there is but a single voice in a forum of such significance as Washington, that voice will inevitably attract detractors. . .

The usual reaction to such data on the part of the moguls of our business — those who, unlike Johnson or O’Neill do not bother to take note of them at all — is that we’ve got to be more ethical, more respectful of the legitimate rights of privacy, more judicious in the use of anonymous sources. There’s truth in all of that. But I believe that these analyses miss a larger and more fundamental truth — and that is that the public is fed up with a media which seemingly forever attacks the most cherished institutions and values of the society; a media which refuses to accept any responsibility to society except the one that says: get the story, no matter what the risk to the society, no matter what the cost to society, no matter how sleazy the story may be. A media which, in short, mocks the values and beliefs that the majority of people in what is, after all, a land of free men and women, hold most dear, most decent and most enduring. That, I believe, is the crux of this crisis of confidence. And it is not, of course, without potentially devastating consequences. It has, for example, been pointed out that the First Amendment is not a gift we receive from on high, but rather that it is a political document, sanctioned by all of the people, by all of us. These same people can take away or change such legacies if they come to the conclusion that we are not worthy of them, or that the legacies are no longer working to the benefit of society. There have, of course, been many such attempts to revoke the privilege, not only in the United States, but everywhere where the lamp of freedom has ever burned; not just now, but throughout the ages. Heaven help us if the privilege should be lost or diminished.

So what has all of this to do with competition, with *The Washington Times*? Plenty. For one thing, whenever there is but a single voice in a forum of such significance as Washington, that voice will inevitably attract detractors; and, as the number of detractors grows, and the vehemence of their complaints increases, the effect is to weaken the fabric and lessen debate.

But in the particular case of Washington, detractors aside, the fact is that there has been a widespread and deeply held conviction on the part of conservatives — and among some liberals as well — that the conservative side of the political debate was not being heard at all — or when heard, muted or distorted. That’s not only unhealthy for democracy — to shut out one-half of the philosophical equation — but highly destructive of popular support for a free press — which, warts and all — is vital as an institution to the proper functioning of a democratic society — that, again, is where *The Washington Times* comes in. So let me close with a few words about our newspaper and what we believe it represents.

The Washington Times is an excellent newspaper. We are determined to become one of the very best newspapers in the entire world. But it is not a newspaper published in a philosophical or moral vacuum. We are a conservative newspaper in our politics, in our ethics, and unabashedly so. While acknowledging the central place of God in our lives — and we believe in the society at large — we are neither a religious newspaper in the sense that we represent certain doctrines, nor do we champion the views of any one religion, including that of our financial backers.

This would be an appropriate place to discuss the controversial question of the ownership of *The Washington Times*. Controversial largely because of misrepresentations and misunderstandings — not a few of them malevolently inspired. The *Times* is funded by businesses associated with the Unification Church. Businesses — not the Church itself — that is a vital distinction inasmuch as businesses, unlike churches, are not shielded by the First Amendment against government intrusion, against federal, state, and local laws, taxes and regulations.

Furthermore, far from bending the newspaper to their own purposes, the owners have from the beginning given us, the professional editors and managers of *The Washington Times*, a degree of freedom and independence — including absolute editorial independence — with few, if any, equals anywhere in the publishing world.

We have three publishing goals at the newspaper. I will say a few words about the first and merely mention the second and third. The second is to build a solid circulation base and, as I’ve already indicated, we are well along the road to doing just that. The third goal is to raise enough money to pay for all of this and that means advertising and we are off to a good start on what we know will be a longer road to travel. In this connection, I should mention the owners have pledged publicly that if and when the paper should become self-supporting or profitable, they will take out not one red cent from the paper, not even to recover their own investment.

So now back briefly to the first of our publishing goals: that was to establish the newspaper as quickly as we could as a serious, consequential, and influential newspaper of the highest standards of journalistic excellence and integrity. We

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Press Performance: Enough Is Too Little

Eugene C. Patterson

Encouraging words on a new and healthy phenomenon — the press is taking a hard look inward and examining itself.

A lot of us have taken to worrying lately about the durability of a free press in an American society that seems to be growing impatient with us.

If jury verdicts in libel cases can be read as public opinion polls, we're losing big. And I'm not talking only about those monster judgments against *The Washington Post* in favor of the head of Mobil Oil, or against *Penthouse* and *National Enquirer* and the like.

I'm worried about a study of fifty-four libel and invasion of privacy cases that were tried before juries in the last three years. The media lost nine out of ten of those fifty-four cases, according to the Libel Defense Resource Center, an organization under the chairmanship of Harry M. Johnston III, general counsel of the Time Inc. Magazine Group. Nine out of ten, lost. It's some comfort to the press — and a considerable discredit to those juries — that appeals courts reversed the damage awards in three out of four of those cases. But juries are the people. And we have to ask why they are so ready to inflict punishment on us, in defiance of the facts or the law, so that we must depend for our salvation, if not our survival, on rescue by appeals judges.

Now even those courts, up to and including the Supreme Court, seem to be steadily narrowing the definition of public figures, who must prove malice to establish libel, and broadening the definition of negligence as a showing of libel against private figures. But I'm not here to mourn the decline and fall of *New York Times v. Sullivan* as the once and maybe future

shield of plain-spoken journalism. Nor will this be one more bugle call against clear and present threats to the First Amendment, though they are clear and very present.

Rather, I bring an encouraging word of a relatively new and very healthy phenomenon: The press is taking a hard look inward and actually examining itself. The supposedly arrogant, heedless, nattering nabobs of negativism are engaged in a searching review of their practices, if not their consciences.

The argument isn't bringing much agreement, thank heaven.

The strength of a free press is its diversity, and the language of its diversity is the snarl. Consider the verbal brawling that occurred at a seminar assembled in St. Petersburg by Modern Media Institute.

William Greider, now of *Rolling Stone*, said the Washington press elite speaks to the government elite in a back-scratching code that's incomprehensible to the public and doles out stories in thin mysterious slices, instead of telling them plain and whole.

Richard Harwood [NF '56] of *The Washington Post* retorted that "We're not insiders. We're outsiders collecting little scraps. Our problem is not being too close, but too distant from access to knowledge. We're just skillful hacks facing responsibilities we're unable to discharge."

Hodding Carter [NF '66] of PBS did not take a pitying view of the press. His colleagues when he was at the State Department held the press in "contempt," he said, for being so eager to be taken in. In exchange for access to the mighty, Carter said, the press imposes "a false sense of order on essentially chaotic government processes." Carter demanded the press stop doing that, and instead, "demythologize government," so the public will get a clear look at the chaos of reality.

Ray Jenkins [NF '65] of the *Baltimore Sun* worried about the danger of following Hodding Carter's recommendation. Some myths have served free men, he said, and we should be careful about demythologizing our institutions to the point that the people cease to believe in or support them. He quoted a French philosopher — "There are truths that can kill a nation"

Eugene C. Patterson, editor and president of the St. Petersburg (Florida) Times and the Congressional Quarterly, gave the 1983 Press-Enterprise Lecture at the University of California, Riverside. The text of his talk, which appears above, has been lightly edited for publication.



— and suggested some faith and optimism must be present or freedom itself can fall to cynicism and fail. “A President is the Wizard of Oz,” Jenkins suggested. If you look behind the curtain you’ll find him pulling levers, not a magical figure at all.

That was a daring sally by Ray Jenkins, in this hardball world. But think on it. If at least some of our myths do not exceed our grasp, have we in fact brought ourselves face to face with reality — or have we destroyed the true mythological reality of faith, by which we have always barely managed to stumble and cringe through this vale of tears?

A month earlier, at another MMI seminar, Michael J. O’Neill dared to repeat the heresy he first offered last spring in his valedictory as president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. The former editor of the *New York Daily News* counseled the press to be less adversarial toward government because its skepticism had turned to a cynicism and hostility that was obscuring reality, not revealing it. “What we need most of all in our profession is a generous spirit, infused with human warmth, as ready to see good as to suspect wrong, to find hope as well as cynicism,” O’Neill said.

For saying the press had come to regard the U.S. government as the enemy, O’Neill was assailed by many of his peers as being soft on hardball, as failing to credit the overriding need to watch and suspect the holders of power, as easing up on vigilance over the bad guys in pursuit of specious good news.

Ernest Furgurson of the *Baltimore Sun* wrote recently that the generous spirit O’Neill advocated was displayed at its best in some recent unpleasant reading — a *Providence Journal and Bulletin* investigative series about how abused children become tomorrow’s criminal class, a *Miami Herald* account of the dying dreams of frightened pensioners who came to Miami’s South Beach seeking refuge, a *Louisville Courier-Journal* project on the failure of Kentucky’s medical licensing board to crack down on dangerous doctors, a *Los Angeles Times* series exposing California foster home operators.

And of course Mike O’Neill would not disagree. He embraced the caution enunciated by Russell Wiggins, publisher of the *Ellsworth American* in Maine, and former editor of *The Washington Post*. At a Campobello Island conference last summer, Wiggins warned that “the press cannot stop printing information that is resented and disliked. It must not be intimidated into silence in the face of wrongdoing.” So much for fearlessness.

But, Wiggins went on, “without doing either, [the press] probably can change its lifestyle in ways that will not so speedily summon forth the instinctual revulsion against the exercise of power.”

Inferred from that is, of course, a Wiggins perception that the press is in fact summoning forth such a revulsion. Having said the press must always endure resentment and dislike without being intimidated, he made bold to prescribe a somewhat different course of conduct for the press, if it wishes to reduce the revulsion it summons forth.

“Perhaps it ought to exult less in the pursuit of wickedness,” Wiggins said, in words like whiplashes, “boast less of toppling the mighty, appraise more conservatively its role as the fourth

estate of government, accept more publicly the role of observer, don less frequently the robes of the grand inquisitor. . . . It can take more pains to make its exposures objective and impersonal. It can pursue the victims of exposure with more regret and less exultation. It can do less to arouse the age-old antipathy in the subconscious of the jury against the powerful, the vindictive, the vengeful and the ruthless.”

I wonder if the general public is aware of the depth of this debate that is going on within the press. Television has reduced so much of human discourse to superficial scripts of conflict and flickering entertainments that this quiet and critical debate, one editor to another, may not have been adequately noted in the last year or so.

Every editor could see and discount the many weaknesses in Alexander Solzhenitsyn’s arguments in his 1978 commencement address at Harvard. But few could or did miss the uncomfortable closeness to truth in Solzhenitsyn’s observation that “hastiness and superficiality — these are the psychic diseases of the twentieth century and more than anywhere else this is manifested in the press.” The pitiless Russian went on: “In-depth analysis of a problem is anathema to the [U.S.] press; it is contrary to its nature. The press merely picks out sensational formulas. . . . fashionable trends of thought and ideas are fastidiously separated from those that are unfashionable, and the latter. . . . have little chance of finding their way into periodicals or books or being heard in colleges.

“Your scholars are free in the legal sense,” Solzhenitsyn said, “but they are hemmed in by the idols of the prevailing fad.

“. . . a selection dictated by fashion and the need to accommodate mass standards frequently prevents the most independent-minded persons from contributing to public life and gives rise to a dangerous herd instinct that blocks successful development. . . . [a] self-deluding interpretation of the state of affairs in the contemporary world. . . . functions as a sort of petrified armor around people’s minds. . . .

“It will be broken,” Solzhenitsyn concluded somberly, “only by the inexorable crowbar of events.”

These are heavy words to be loading onto a press that isn’t accustomed to looking inward. Self-delusion. Fashionability. Herd instinct. Distortion and disproportion. Hastiness and superficiality. Unmoral judgments. Arrogance. Self-righteousness. Cynicism. If all of this is right, we don’t sound like very nice people. But anyone who has worked in Washington will feel some unease under his flail.

Sooner or later the press, if it does its job, delivers an unpopular message to just about everybody and a portion of those offended will always adjudge us as sinful and unclean. But there’s another side to just about every one of the allegations, of course. The press serves the public interest doggedly and most often well under heavy blows and unkind pressures that go beyond the imagining of most citizens. And those justifications of our shortcomings have their place in the constructive debates that should shape our responses.

But consider William Greider’s suggestion in his new book: that maybe we’re going about our basic business in the wrong way, and that the press “has to reinvent its definition of news.”

"The governing impulse is to simplify and startle," Greider said, as he reflected on the hullabaloo he set off in the press as well as the government by writing the candid story of Budget Director David Stockman's thoughts and acts.

Greider concluded the Washington press "communicates much less coherently than it thinks it does."

"The reason for this is that there are fundamental flaws in the ways the news media package reality and convey it to the general population. Americans consume more information about public affairs now than at any previous point in history, yet they do not seem to have gained a deeper understanding of events. . . . The values slighted are the ones probably most valuable to the consumer: context and comprehension."

How would Greider repair that? "The business of news ought to take responsibility for what the consumers of news understand," he wrote. "I think the audience will understand if reporters try to explain more and startle less."

All of us know the reasons for rejecting Greider's advice — to change little and risk less, to play it safe from controversy by opting out of responsibility for the public's understanding of complex issues, condoning confusion. We printed all that yesterday, didn't we? Are we our readers' keepers? But an intramural debate about that is overdue. We've gotten off onto a lot of rabbit tracks rather than tackle the hill directly ahead: how to attack our deficiencies and advance our capacities to do our work better.

In newspapers we fret about the possibilities of electronic news and ad delivery. But that isn't a main danger. In fact, the fragmentation of audience attention to any one of many multiplying channels represents an opportunity for a newspaper with concentrated penetration of its market to become the true — and profitable — mass medium of the future.

Nor are we always using the new technology to enlarge the quality and the worth, the substance and originality of what we print. Instead we're seeing a lot of junk journalism that is not intellectually filling because it goes no deeper than its bright cosmetics. Journalism can't be done with mirrors — or space satellites. They're only hardware. The work and the quality will always show, and they will always fetch their own reward or earn their disrespect.

A newspaper has got to have something to say, and care about saying it well and distinctively. It cannot lick the hand of its reader, telling him what he wants to hear. To earn his respect it must have an informed mind of its own, and speak it intelligently, independently, originally and honestly. It must never patronize.

The economy of the newspaper business is sound despite the unhappy shakeout of many second papers. Hard times are forcing that. But the remaining newspapers are strengthened, and according to their commitment to dominate their markets through excellence, they will prevail.

The main road we ought to move along confidently, therefore, will lead boldly forward from the current self-examination to an improvement of our ways and our work. There's plenty of room for pioneering.

"The business of news ought to take responsibility for what

the consumers of news understand," Bill Greider said.

That deceptively simple statement goes very deep. In our high-tech time, low-reach news is showered on readers or listeners like a light snow that evaporates on contact. That is not the point of the First Amendment. Unresisted, it is the death of free expression through atrophy.

Editor Donald Treford of *The Observer* of London told the International Press Institute in Madrid last May that there is a clear answer to Solzhenitsyn's condemnation of hastiness and superficiality as the psychic disease of the twentieth century. "The answer," Treford said, "is to prepare readers for the bewildering complexities of change, to provide sufficient context in which the changes can be made more comprehensible.

"Without that background," Treford added, "people are simply bombarded by so-called 'facts' which frighten them into an apathy in which they feel powerless and all the world's problems seem insoluble."

There's plenty of room for pioneering along these paths.

I personally feel the need for a new inventiveness more strongly now than I did in April 1978 when I told the ASNE, in my farewell talk as outgoing president, the following, which I feel like saying again:

"We are in a period of search and change toward a new dimension of journalism, I believe.

"We remember the generally obedient press born of depression and two world wars, which tended through the 1950's to respect the authority of established power to define this nation's purposes and interests.

"We well remember the convulsive switch to adversary journalism in the late 1960's and early 1970's, when domestic discord and a mistaken war turned the society as well as the press from a general obedience to an adversary sense of fallibility of the powerful institutions we live under.

"This adversary posture made for a sturdier press and a stronger society. It should endure.

"But I sense a current self-examination in the press, addressing the question of whether throwing rocks at authority is enough, or whether better reporting of issues should be added to our investigative approach.

"It might be called explanatory journalism. In that new dimension we would commit to the goal of telling an issue whole — taking greater responsibility for bringing clarity to the pros and cons of it — with simplicity which can only spring from a writer's comprehension.

"Just as a major part of our adversary role is to watch those who exercise power, we carry a companion obligation to be guides to the people so that they can more clearly comprehend the issues which the wielders of power may be managing or mismanaging, and especially those vital issues they may be avoiding.

"To identify primary issues, independent of political authority, is surely as much in keeping with the press's watchdog function as is the monitoring of officials' handling of the agenda they set for themselves.

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Roundtable on Media Criticism

The following text is from the transcript of a panel discussion, "Standards of Media Criticism," that took place during the sixty-fourth annual convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication at Michigan State University.

The panelists were: James Boylan, Professor of Journalism, University of Massachusetts; Loren Ghiglione, publisher, *The News*, Southbridge, Massachusetts; David Rubin, chairman, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, New York University; and Paul Weaver, assistant managing editor, *Fortune* magazine.

Professors Barbara Straus Reed and Theodore Glasser originated the idea and assembled the panel for this discussion. Glasser served as moderator; Reed edited the transcript.

Barbara Straus Reed is Assistant Professor in the Department of Communication Studies at California State University, Los Angeles. She is currently on leave at Rutgers University.

Theodore L. Glasser is Assistant Professor at the University of Minnesota's School of Journalism and Mass Communication.

Four questions were identified:

Should media criticism be concentrated in outlets such as journalism reviews that are directed primarily to practitioners, or should it be aimed at the public at large?

What is the goal of media criticism?

To what extent is economics an essential part of media criticism?

Are different standards needed for different kinds of media, for example, print versus broadcast?

The panel discussion opened with remarks by Loren Ghiglione.

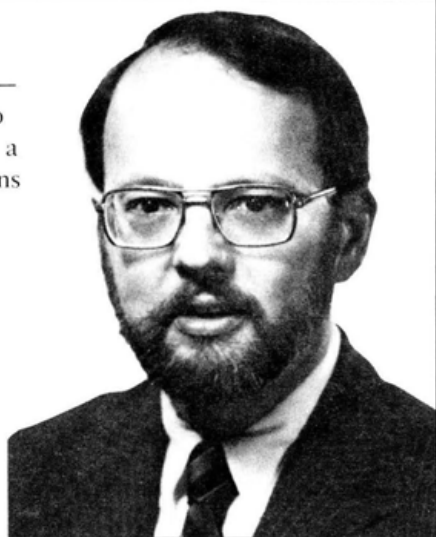
GHIGLIONE: I'm honored to be here. I am, after all, a publisher as well as an editor. You may remember Mark Twain's remark: "Take an idiot man from a lunatic asylum and marry him to an idiot woman, and the fourth generation of this connection should be a publisher." I suppose I begin, as most publishers do, by equivocating. The answer to the question — should media criticism be concentrated in outlets primarily for practitioners such as journalism reviews, or should it be for the public at large — is that it should be aimed at both groups.

But the ideal would be that all consumers of a medium — readers, viewers, listeners — should have the chance to be exposed to criticism of that medium. For example, I think the problem in a very small daily paper — our paper has a circulation of 6,000 — is that unless we do the criticism ourselves, there's no one else out there who's going to do it, and that's probably true in most communities. Unless the journalism faculty at a local university takes it upon itself to criticize the local newspaper, or unless the paper criticizes itself, there's not going to be any criticism.

At the other end of the spectrum — nationally — you have the problem of, say, a program like *60 Minutes*. If you're going to rebut a program, how do you reach all the people who saw the original one? Or if you're going to rebut *The New York Times*, criticize *The New York Times*, since that paper is read by people all over the country, how do you do it? Camus talked about an impractical idea of publishing a paper that would come out an hour or so after all the others. It would be a corrective, revealing the prejudices and the reporting biases of all the other papers on a story.

One practical option is the ombudsman. We tried to experiment with one — as a part-timer — on our small daily. There is a problem in that the ombudsman is not perceived as totally independent of the publication. His pay comes from the publication. But the ombudsman represents a valuable approach.

Loren Ghiglione —
 “There has got to
 be a place where a
 newspaper explains
 its values.”



I remember listening to the records of Don Hollenbeck's *CBS Views the Press*, a radio program in New York between 1947 and 1950 that critiqued the performance of the media in New York City. And just thinking about those two examples — *CBS Views the Press* and the ombudsman — a key element is that the criticism be textual, that it focus on what's really in the paper, that the people, the critics be actually reading the papers or looking at television or listening to the radio, day after day after day. I don't have the sense that this is happening in much of the media criticism columns I read.

Second, the criticism should be specific and not just concentrate on the problem, as it often appears in the prestige media of the country. Sometimes I think that media criticism, 90 percent of it, focuses on the best media — *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, and CBS — the ones that do the really outstanding work. The great mass of media just doesn't get critiqued at all.

Third, criticism should be local. I know Dave is doing an important job with *Inside Story*, a program that is looking at media all over, and I'm involved with the National News council, which is trying to do a similar thing nationally. But it seems to me, that in terms of impact and effectiveness, we need to look at what we know best and what is right in front of us — the local media.

Fourth, we need to recognize that there is more than one set of standards to be applied to news media. When we conducted the New England Daily Newspaper Survey, one thing we did was interview the editors and find out what they were trying to do with their publications. We shouldn't assume that every news medium is trying to do the same thing or has the same role, just because it is the same size as another.

As to the criticism that exists — that it is aimed at the practitioners — I have several complaints or questions about it. I think you get to a problem of the economics of survival that exists for journalism reviews. *More*, the New York journalism review, toward the end of its life, was moving away from serious

criticism to a kind of *People*, reporting about media personalities. It was trying to broaden its audience. It was just struggling to survive. When you look at the publications aimed at practitioners, they tend to focus, again, on the prestige media rather than local media. I remember the pilot issue of the *Columbia Journalism Review*. It had a section on local news media — reports from all over the country. The *Review* found it difficult to continue that, and certainly it's gotten away from it since.

Then, too, the existing avenues of media criticism aimed at media practitioners are too respectful of the media establishment. There's a kind of mental co-opting that is difficult to resist. Who's going to which foundation for funding? Is the newspaper foundation that funds the media criticism activities at your university — if you become active in media criticism — going to be very tolerant of your criticism if it attacks one of the newspapers owned by the media conglomerate that supports the foundation? I wonder what that foundation is going to feel about your journalism department, your university?

RUBIN: I'm going to slightly screw up your works and address the first two questions together. Because I have difficulty separating audience and goals, I think of the two together; in order to know what my goals are, I think about what audience I'm going to reach, and vice versa.

I think, obviously, that we need both kinds of media criticism. First is the type that is limited to the trades, to reporters, to journalists, to the kinds of people who are in this room, and it rarely spreads beyond that sort of audience. The kinds of publications that I'm talking about that fit that description best are *Quill*, *Columbia Journalism Review*, *Washington Journalism Review*, and *More* magazine, which died in 1978. Those four publications are aimed at insiders. They cover issues that a lay audience often would not be able to understand very well without a great deal of background, and would not be very excited about. I view these kinds of publications, in the absence of ombudsmen at most papers or any other sort of media criticism in most communities, as the conscience of the industry.

To give you an example, I think perhaps the best feature *More* carried was a column Dick Pollak wrote called “Times Watch,” which focused every month on *The New York Times*, and *The New York Times* knew every month it was going to be the focus. When the column was established, we began to get a lot of information from inside the *Times*. And I'm told by some friends at the *Times* that frequently in internal debates at the paper, people would say, “Well, if we do that, suppose *More* gets hold of it?” That sort of check is extremely valuable, I think.

That's absent now in New York City; there isn't anybody doing that for the *Times*. The *Washington Journalism Review* doesn't, of course, because they're really Washington-focused. *Quill* doesn't; they're in Chicago, and they don't do that sort of thing, anyway. *Columbia Journalism Review*, I think, should do more of it; they don't. And I've had friends who are still at the *Times* call me up and say, “I thought you'd like to know

this," and I say, "Yeah, it's interesting, but there's no outlet for that sort of thing now." And we sort of moan about it, but that's the way it is.

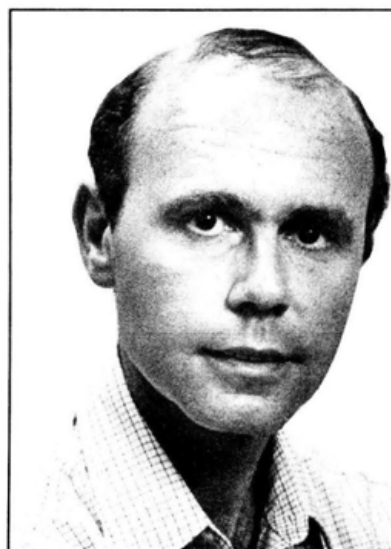
I think such criticism can really produce change. If you remember the pieces by Roger Morris on the coverage of Henry Kissinger by the *Times* and other papers — I think those had impact. Morris recently did a piece for *Columbia Journalism Review* on the quality of the *Times* business pages. We'll see if that has an impact. Without *Columbia* doing that, there wouldn't be the hot spur for them to change. But I'm not sure how many lay readers would be interested in that kind of piece — probably not many.

Even on a small scale, when the *Columbia Journalism Review* mentioned how many people had New York City Police Department [license] plates who are not really working journalists and named names, a number of people including Dick Salant, now over at NBC, said, "Gee, I know you're right. I shouldn't have them," and sent the plates back. Not earth-shaking, but still it produces some results.

The other type of criticism would be aimed at the broader national audience, and it has very different goals. These goals are the kinds that I assume most ombudsmen are trying to achieve, and I know they are the goals that *Inside Story*, the public television program that Hodding Carter has been anchoring and that Ned Schnurman raised money for and that I've been working with, is trying to achieve. Here the appeal is definitely not to the trade, not to the insider. As a matter of fact, we are constantly asking ourselves with *Inside Story*, "Are we doing this because we are interested in it, because we are in the trade and think our friends will be interested because they're in the trade, or are we doing this because the public's really interested?"

Brandy Ayers [NF '68], whom some of you may know from the *Anniston Star* in Alabama, who has been an adviser to the show, constantly has been telling us to keep in mind the people who hang out at the courthouse in Anniston, and ask if those people are going to want to watch this segment of *Inside Story* and will get anything out of it. If you can't answer "yes" to that, forget it. That's a fairly difficult standard to meet, but we try to meet it. It means that the kinds of issues we try to explore for the lay audience are why stories are covered as they are, or why that story came out the way it did. Related to that, we explore how reporters work.

We're also trying to do something that *CJR*, as Loren mentioned a minute ago, used to do. What are media in other communities doing? We think it's very useful to show people in Pittsburgh what local television stations in Minneapolis are doing. You can't set standards or have expectations for your own local media if you aren't aware of what is possible. And a lot of people aren't aware of what's possible. They don't travel enough, they don't necessarily read the newspapers in other communities when they do travel, or they don't watch local television when they are away from home. They become insular, and they think that what their local media do is what is done. The better sense of press performance you have nationally, the better you'll be able to evaluate your own media.



David Rubin —
"We are constantly asking ourselves with *Inside Story*, 'Are we doing this because we are in the trade and think our friends will be interested, or are we doing this because the public's really interested?'"

The goal is to inculcate a broader understanding of media performance in general among lay audiences and improve the sophistication of the media consumer. I think this will lead to a greater appreciation of First Amendment values. I hope that in the end it will slowly help to improve local media performance, as consumers become more knowledgeable. About the time *Inside Story* went off the air after its first season, people started to realize it existed. About a hundred letters a week were coming in to Hodding with complaints and suggestions. "Why don't you look into this?" and "Why did our local media do that?" Ninety percent of them were not terribly useful, but some of them were, and they gave us some ideas.

In conclusion, we need more of both kinds of criticism, despite the fact the media often claim they are the most heavily covered industry in the country — I think that's nonsense — and I would certainly hope that we get more of both.

WEAVER: I agree with that sentiment. We need press criticism; you can't have too much of the stuff. Let me add a few thoughts on a couple of matters regarding the comments of the people who preceded me.

One thing I can contribute, is the perspective of a person who began his academic and writing career as a student and critic of media and then ended up being inside. Now I am in the position of sharing in the editorial management of a magazine, and it is clear to me that the kind of "in-profession" press criticism that you get from the *Columbia Journalism Review*, and other such publications, is really very valuable. Let me mention two kinds of areas where criticism is constantly needed. One of them is in the simple area of intelligence, of quality. It's an obvious point, but it's too easily overlooked.

Editors are always trying to get their writers and their publications to do as good a job as possible, but they don't always succeed in this effort. Editors are often tempted to sacrifice quality for other managerial goals, such as morale, such as

getting things done on time, such as saving money, and so forth. Editors make compromises of that kind all the time, and one of the really important functions of media criticism, in the in-house sense, is to say, "Look at that stupid story! Here is *The New York Times* or *Fortune* or *Newsweek*, an institution with great resources and great traditions and intelligence, and look at this dumb, flaccid, unintelligent, boring, derivative, and really misleading story that they printed!"

Calling attention in public to dumb reporting and dumb writing does serve a real function; it puts editors in their form and keeps them on their toes, and the same with writers. To me, that kind of in-house criticism is probably more important than all of the other kinds put together.

There's another simple problem that also requires constant criticism, and that is, in general, the problem of cronyism or the problem of non-dispassion. Journalism is an inherently political activity. By making a public account of public events, you are inevitably making some people and some activities look good and others look bad. There is, therefore, a constant temptation on the part of people who are actors in the dramas that are covered by reporters to try to co-opt them, and for similar reasons there are constant temptations on the part of reporters to think of themselves as actors, to form friendships and alliances.

The scrutiny of the friendships and the enmities of journalists is also an important part of press criticism. Newspeople are not all that visible. In fact, interestingly enough, they are not all that visible to their managers. If you asked me, as a second-tier manager of *Fortune* magazine, which *Fortune* writers and researchers were hostile or friendly to this company or that industry, in most cases I wouldn't know. Press criticism can draw attention to such patterns, of reportorial behavior, of a magazine's or newspaper's behavior, patterns of favoritism or opposition. That too, is very valuable, and that would be an area of criticism that could stand a lot of beefing up. While *Columbia Journalism Review*, for example in its "Darts and Laurels" pages does a lot on the matter of dumb and good reporting, it does a lot less about journalists' alliances.

Though I'm a great advocate of media criticism of all kinds, I sometimes find myself dissatisfied with certain lines of criticism — well, with certain arguments for media criticism. In particular, it troubles me when people talk about the responsibility of a magazine or of a newspaper or of a television program to criticize itself as if a newspaper or magazine were properly understood as a kind of neutral public utility, open to every view and equally open to all views. I think that is stretching things too far. I think that's asking for too much, and I think in the effort or in the *hope* of getting magazines to be both what they are and also what their critics think of them, you'll end up getting crummy journalism.

To me, the one real responsibility of an editor of a newspaper or a magazine or a television program is to provide a letters-to-the-editor department. That is the one kind of media self-criticism an editor is probably properly held responsible for providing. But as for going beyond that — providing an authoritative in-house critic to publicly criticize what the magazine

prints — it's expensive, it's disruptive, and I'm not all that impressed with the results.

In any case, I don't think media self-criticism is desirable, because if you ask me, the biggest *large* problem in American journalism is that the editorial function is carried out in a too-faint-hearted, too-incoherent, too-apologetic, too-timid manner.

The scrutiny of the friendships and the enmities of journalists is also an important part of press criticism.

Broadly speaking, what we need are editors with a clearer idea of what they want their particular journalistic operation to do and to achieve. Anything that pushes them away from that goal, which I think the notion of in-house criticism does, I really would prefer not to have.

BOYLAN: I join in the consensus obviously here that we need both kinds of criticisms, but it seems to me, looking back on my term as an editor and as a press critic, that the two types are not in equally good shape. I think that over, say, the last twenty years there's been an encouraging increase in the amount of general public discussion of *issues* affecting the news media. Just to name a few scattered symptoms of this, we have the repeated efforts to bring press criticism on television. *Inside Story* is the most recent, and I guess it is going to be one of the longer, more sustained ones; they are coming back next year.

You have newspapers which have assigned people to write about problems, not just internal problems, but general problems affecting the news media. I'm thinking of the type of person like David Shaw of *The Los Angeles Times* or Charles Sieb who, besides doing his ombudsman work at *The Washington Post*, often took up major public issues and helped educate the public about what the news media were up to, what their flaws were, what their strengths were.

The general magazines have carried an expanding amount of intelligent discussion of journalism. At least I seem to see a lot more than, say, back in 1961, because one of the things we had in mind when the *Columbia Journalism Review* started was that there didn't seem to be very many receptacles for people writing journalism criticism, and we wanted to have a kind of fixture there that would offer a place critics would turn to. Maybe this is why that side of what the *Columbia Journalism Review* does is less important than it used to be.

Now, on the other side, in the same period we had what I like to call "reform journalism" about the press — that is, criticism of the press practices, material that's developed to alter the way the press functions internally. I think *More* contributed

a great deal to that. The various volunteer urban journalism reviews, of which I think *Chicago* was the outstanding example, contributed, but there's been a real problem of survival.

Another effort was Loren's New England Daily Newspaper Survey, which we always thought would be copied all around the country, but this sort of thing doesn't seem to be automatic.

...there is a big disjunction between what people really respond to and need in journalism, and what professional journalists think is good.

We have these things come and go, and now we're down to *Columbia Journalism Review*, which has such a sweeping national focus that it doesn't do intense criticism except in its "Darts and Laurels" section. You have *Washington Journalism Review*, a good place for a journalism review, but that's just Washington. A few other publications, such as the *Twin Cities Journalism Review*, still survive.

I've always felt we needed a lot more of this, but I don't know how they survive, but I'm glad they were there. They were timely. I think they helped journalism become more self-conscious, but I am sorry to say that in the 1980's internal reform journalism is not as strong as I had hoped it would be.

QUESTIONER: I wonder what perception Dave and Jim have — in addition to publications you're talking about — of what goes on now in the rest of the country in the way of media criticism that might touch like *Columbia Journalism Review*.

BOYLAN: You do get a sense of a kind of clientele building out there. We don't always see how it comes out overtly, but over the years you know that you are on the end of a bunch of feeders that come to you, so you know something has to be stirring out there, that we're making some impression. What I would say of the *Review* is I think we're stretched terribly thin. It's like a lottery. You might get into "Darts and Laurels," depending on how the writer feels that day, or you might not. It's so risky that I'd hate to have criticism depend on that kind of thing.

QUESTIONER: Is it happening in broadcasting?

RUBIN: It's impossible for us to answer that question with any precision because there isn't anyone who is reading all of the twenty or thirty biggest papers in the country regularly enough to know how often they do it. We found it occasionally.

One example is *The Boston Globe*, which examined its own motives for the kind of play it gave to the murder of a

young white nurse in Boston, when, in fact, they had given very little coverage to a black woman who had been murdered in exactly the same neighborhood. One of their own reporters raised the question and they did cover that. Now how often does that go on? I don't know. It's catch as catch can. The only fairly reliable place to look in newspapers for that sort of criticism is in the television columns. Some columnists are becoming sophisticated and doing less reviewing of the season, or printing publicity handouts from the network people in New York and Hollywood, and are doing more of a critical nature.

You don't get criticism about newspaper coverage on television, but you get it about the broadcast stations.

QUESTIONER: Are focused interviews used to generate issues for newspaper management?

GHIGLIONE: Maybe there isn't a responsibility — or maybe there aren't reasons — to go beyond providing letters to the editor as a response to what's happening on a publication. But there's got to be a place where the newspaper explains its values. Take the reporting of suicides, for example. Even if you don't splash a suicide on your front page, even if you just report in an obituary that the medical examiner said death was caused by a self-inflicted gunshot wound or something else, in our small town you're going to get a tremendous negative reaction. "Why did you print that?" — and so on. There's got to be a place in a newspaper where you can explain — even though most readers feel it's unfair to report the medical examiner's ruling as a suicide — that a person has an obligation to report the truth about a death, if only to preserve its credibility.

What I'm concerned about is stories like this in *The New York Times*: "Poll shows concern for press fairness. Newspapers as well as television stations should be required by the government to present opposing views on important issues, according to a majority of the respondents to a national opinion survey on freedom of expression and the media. Most respondents to the survey said there should be laws requiring fairness by newspapers," and so on. I just think that the public doesn't understand First Amendment values or a lot of the reasons why newspapers do things. If we don't report accurately the cause of death, it goes to a question of our credibility. So I think there are a lot of roles that newspapers need to play like this, and papers need to explain them to the public.

RUBIN: The value of what a publisher or a station manager would get from such a focus group interview would depend very much on the media sophistication of people who participated. Many of the letters we get at *Inside Story* are written by people who understand little about the process. What they have to say to an editor is not very useful. They start with a base that's so low there's no way that you could make that information useful. The media have a real educational function. The media have to explain these issues.

WEAVER: I would add, though, there's an equal problem of journalists being completely out of touch with what their read-

ers like and want, as I think we all have been reminded recently by the unhappy demise of *The Washington Star*. Here was a newspaper that everyone agreed at the time of its death was, given its financial constraints, an extremely good newspaper, well done, not as good as it might be, to be sure, but still extremely good, and a newspaper that ranked very high on all important dimensions of professional standards and notions of what a good newspaper is. And every month, every quarter, it lost circulation, even as it got better by the journalists' standards.

What that proves is, of course, debatable, and coming to terms with the experience will take a long time. But on the surface of the matter, what it suggests is that there is a big disjunction between what people really respond to and need in journalism, and what professional journalists think is good. So it seems to me that editors and reporters ought to expose themselves to focus groups, even if they don't have very sophisticated readers, even if the readers don't know how journalism works. There's a serious argument that journalism is badly out of touch.

The third question focuses on economics. To what extent is economics an essential part of media criticism? Specifically, how does ownership affect performance? How do you relate performance to available resources?

GHIGLIONE: Well, I remember interviewing Lord Thomson. He said he bought newspapers to make money, to buy more newspapers, to make more money. He was candid in a way that a lot of people are not these days, about what their objectives in newspapering are. We may not have the old-time sins of commission — the favorable reviews of Marion Davies' movies and the front-page conservative editorials that marked all Hearst newspapers. But today people who own and manage group papers affect their news quality in a quiet way that may be less obvious than the old Hearst-style but nevertheless is just as damaging.

One problem: The movement toward companies going public — the pressure to make a larger profit, to increase dividends. I remember Bill Taylor of *The Boston Globe* — the parent company is Affiliated Publications, a public company — attempting to defend to stock analysts Affiliated's purchase of the *North Adams Transcript*, a small daily in Massachusetts. Its earnings weren't that good. What was Affiliated going to do with the *Transcript*? And so on. Eventually what Affiliated did was sell the *Transcript*.

I see some operating manuals that are given to managers of group news operations. The manuals set percentages of expenses for the operations. I can think of a daily in Massachusetts, one that was independently owned. Seventeen percent of its expense went into newsgathering operations and now, as a group paper, it's down to eleven percent, and, according to the publisher who has since left, the group's goal is eight percent. It's hard to talk about that kind of thing. Press criticism should be talking about it, and it's not. The financial aspect, I think, is regarded as merely a business-side concern. Reporters feel uncomfortable with business. They don't know about it.

It's more fun and easier to talk about personalities.

The people selected to run group newspapers, MBAs who are concerned about MBOs, whose focus is, "I've got to perform well in terms of profitability here to move up to the next step on the ladder within the group" — they are part of the problem. You can argue the quality argument both ways, that

Lord Thomson said he bought newspapers to make money, to buy more newspapers, to make more money.

groups are improving newspapers, that groups are ruining papers. But it's clear to me that, because of the group's growth, the kinds of people who are running papers are changing, and I'm concerned about that.

It seems to me that there are no new people — idealistic, independent, news-oriented — coming into ownership, for example. The owners are the most critical people as far as I'm concerned. But you are not getting the kind of eccentric who doesn't want to be working for somebody else and who wants to put out the best paper in the country. You're only getting a hired hand — a group employee devoted to higher profits.

RUBIN: I must agree with Loren. I'm sure all of us will agree that these are particularly important kinds of stories. It's been my experience that it's extremely difficult to find good people to do these kinds of stories because they need to combine two traits which often don't go together. One is the real sense of what good journalism is, and the other is the ability to read balance sheets and to talk business with the business side and then to marry the two — to figure out how one impacts on the other. When I was an editor at *More* looking for the right kinds of writers to do these features was difficult. Chris Welles was one, but the number who do them — well, you can count them on the fingers of one hand.

Also, it's a question of audience and how will they react. We at *Inside Story* were thinking of doing, and I wanted to do, a piece on UPI and the financial trouble it's in, and why it's in that trouble, and what it will mean to American journalism if UPI goes under. We never did that, and we didn't do it because we were afraid that we couldn't make it interesting, that we couldn't lead people through the numbers. I'm sorry about that. There's a real problem getting people to do those kinds of pieces, but I think there are plenty of them that need to be done.

Another of these types of stories worth doing concerns the death of *The Washington Star*. It may well be that the quality of the paper journalistically had absolutely nothing to do in

the end with its folding. It may all be related to advertising, distribution, and so on. Very often the stories about the death of the *Star* alluded briefly to distribution problems in the afternoon or difficulties with advertisers. I would like to have seen someone talk to advertisers in Washington, the ones who bought space, and ask them what their attitude was toward the *Star* and why they weren't buying space in it. I'd like to talk to some of the union people about negotiations over the last few years. Let's do that story. Let's not make some assumptions about distribution, about advertising.

One of the best pieces I've ever read about ownership and how it changes a medium was on Otis Chandler and his impact on *The Los Angeles Times*. I'm still waiting for somebody to write a piece about the effects of the Newhouse purchase on the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, what it meant to publisher Tom Vail as an individual, how he changed, and how he related to the Newhouse people.

I'd like someone to get inside a chain, if the chain will let him in, and report specifically on how the chain works.

I'd like to see more on how journalists are recruited and hired. The best piece I saw on this was by Robert Scheer of *The Los Angeles Times*, who reported on Joan Lunden — who she was before she came to ABC and what her background was before she broke into news. It was devastating. I think that a much broader study of how media owners hire people, how they recruit, what they look for, would be invaluable.

WEAVER: Obviously ownership matters a lot. In an odd way, many American newspapers suffer from an insufficiency of business-side pressure on the edit-side management. There are too many newspapers with a weak relationship with their readers. I think the death of the *Star* suggests that. So does the fantastic success of the *New York Post*, under an editorial regime that almost all American journalists find abhorrent and hateful, which is, nevertheless, successful. There's been a big increase in circulation under Rupert Murdoch, and though the paper is not yet profitable, I expect it will be someday. Here is a case where Murdoch came in, exercised fantastic influence over the edit side, changed the editorial product and the people who put it out, and as a result, seemed to have a surprising success. Whatever you may think of the style of journalism and the world view embodied in Rupert Murdoch's journalism, you nevertheless have to admit that journalistically the *Post* has been reinvigorated by this man and by the fantastic intrusion by the business side into the edit side.

BOYLAN: Paul puts me in mind of a dilemma that I think a critic faces in dealing with a changing paper such as the *Post* or in *The New York Times*, for that matter, and that is, do you always go along with success? Do you say that whatever the paper says it needs to do to survive is okay? I was thinking of the *Times* before you brought up the example of the *Post*, where they transformed the third section and brought out something that really has a distinctive character of its own. It's not what the *Times* was, and I think the sections alter the

Paul Weaver —
“The one real responsibility of an editor of a newspaper or a magazine or a television program is to provide a letters-to-the-editor department.”



character of the *Times* overall. And I won't say for the better or for the worse, because I don't know, but [the sections] are fantastically successful. As I understand it, they gave them a way to pursue their readers to outlying reaches of the metropolitan area. Yet as a critic, you wonder whether you want to follow them as journalism, for I think they have severe faults — as journalism and according to your previous standards. I've run into this continually.

QUESTIONER: Paul Weaver, I'm not sure of what you're saying, but it sounds to me like something that's always been said, and that is that shlock can sell in the newspaper. We know that but we're trying to get something else that will also sell, that's much harder to do.

WEAVER: First of all, I don't think it's true that shlock sells. To me, shlock is a mediocre product. I don't think the *New York Post* is shlock by that definition. I think it's very well-executed journalism of a certain kind — sensational, absolutely, interested in the bizarre, yes; but I don't call that shlock. I call that excellent yellow journalism. Shlock never sells. Excellent yellow journalism obviously is doing very well in New York and would do very well in many other markets, even though there are very few markets in which you find even an *attempt* at it. What I'm saying is that business-side pressure on the news function can be beneficial, can lead to rejuvenation rather than to death. It can also hurt.

QUESTIONER: We know the *National Enquirer* is not shlock because it's successful. Would it help to get more information to the public about who actually owns the media? I find in my journalism classes that when I ask “Who owns the paper in your hometown?” beginning reporters have no idea nor do they consider that this might have some effect on their editorial operation on the paper.

RUBIN: One would think the general public would care how ownership might affect them. I'm from Cleveland, and the last time I was there I asked my relatives who owned the *Plain*

Dealer, which was sold about fifteen years ago. They're intelligent people, but they didn't know.

QUESTIONER: Haven't you found, Dave, that television columnists do a pretty good job of covering ownership and management changes, write columns about why the general manager was let go, and that sort of thing — at least in the papers I read.

RUBIN: Some of them do for changes at the local television stations, but who's doing it for changes at the newspapers? No one.

The last question has to do with similar or different standards for print versus broadcast. Do we need different standards for different kinds of media — print versus broadcast, for example? Can we legitimately hold city magazines, alternative newspapers, and so on to a different standard than traditional dailies?

GHIGLIONE: I would argue for an old-fashioned set of standards. Objectivity. The difference between news reporting and editorializing. Fifty percent of the people who call me to complain about that editorial we had in the paper yesterday are talking about something other than an editorial. They're talking about a news story, an opinion-page piece, a letter to the editor — there's just a tremendous ignorance on the part of readers about newspapers, the terminology, the First Amendment, the news business. So it's important for one thing to distinguish opinion from straight reporting, and, second, I think we need to properly label whatever appears in our papers — truth in packaging — so that ultimately we all understand what the newspaper really is, where it's news analysis, where it's outright opinion, and where it's an attempt at "objective" reporting.

RUBIN: In my experience, most media executives think highly enough of themselves and their product, and speak grandly enough about it, that you can accept their own standard of performance as a base line. If you think a medium has not set a high enough standard, you can criticize it for not setting a high standard. But do that once, and then get off the subject. That's why for example, we at *Inside Story* wouldn't bother to criticize the *New York Post* these days because the *Post* has made it clear how low its standard is. To criticize the newspaper for blatantly promoting the mayor of New York, or for the sensational way it covers battered children — you're wasting your breath. That coverage fits their self-image. I tend to accept what the paper or the station itself says it's all about, and then determine if it's living up to that. I find you're less likely to get in trouble that way as a critic.

Unfortunately, given the present technological limitations, we don't have equal ability to criticize all the media. The print media are much more fair game, because they are indexable and retrievable, and we can go back and look at them. For television and radio, it's much more difficult. When I was doing some of the Three Mile Island work, the television and radio

coverage in Harrisburg during the accident was gone. The stations hadn't saved it. No one had taped it, except in fragments; it was gone. If stations are not proud of what they have been doing, they are probably less likely to save the stuff. They save what they are going to enter in the next contest, but if you want all their coverage of a certain subject, it's not there.

...we can take a *New York Times* article and put it on the screen and discuss it. Why shouldn't we be able to do that with television?

If technology is going to continue to push us away from print, and push us into screens where the possibility of getting printouts may or may not exist, it may become increasingly difficult to get a handle on what media content really is, to criticize it. We have had, on *Inside Story*, a hell of a time criticizing local television around the country, because when we call up local stations and ask for cassettes of investigative reports that we've heard are worth looking at, we get the ones that tend to be good — the ones the stations suspect are good. We won't get the ones that we heard are somewhat less than good.

Related to that is a very interesting legal problem of fair use. We have taken the clips of Dan Rather or whomever and put them on the air and discussed them. The networks are infuriated by this. They think we are just stealing their material in order to profit from it; of course, PBS, as you all know, makes huge profits, but beyond that we can take a *New York Times* article and put it on the screen and discuss it. Why shouldn't we be able to do that with television? Well, Bill Small at NBC threatened to litigate this question, and we invited him to go ahead. It would be a very interesting case.

WEAVER: I would put it a little more strongly. I would say that, by and large, print media for reasons that I can't exactly explain, accept pretty well the notion of press criticism. They don't like criticism, but they accept that it's a legitimate enterprise — that people in the business of writing criticism have a right to review, to interview reporters and editors, to go about their business. Television, by contrast, has come very slowly and with a lot of ill grace in this direction, and it hasn't gone far toward accepting the enterprise of media criticism.

Some of you may remember the fantastic difficulties that were encountered by the Vanderbilt television news archive in the late 1960's and early 1970's, when they were just getting going. It was the only place in the world where people recorded and indexed and stored and made available to anyone video-

tapes of the three nightly network news broadcasts. There were lawsuits in the beginning to attempt to make it impossible or unappealing for foundations or corporations to contribute to the enterprise.

I think mostly those problems by now have been resolved. I knew there was an effort that can be understood as an attempt to prevent systematic criticisms and scholarship of the content of network news. That general spirit, as far as I can tell, is still present in the networks, though it is abating somewhat. So one point I would make is simply that television has to learn to take more criticism and to make itself available to print media more than it has.

To pick up on a point that Loren made about seeming public misperceptions of what the media are up to, the problem being, as Loren said, that a lot of people don't appear to have a real understanding of or commitment to First Amendment rights and that they accept second-class First Amendment rights for television. I think it's very important to bear in mind that media managers create that public expectation, the public perception, that they then find themselves subject to.

The managers of American newspapers and magazines have never made a really radical defense of their First Amendment rights. Very rarely will you hear a publisher or an editor say, "We have a right in our publication to say whatever we want, even if it's wrong, even if it's basically opinionated; each of us has a right to print what we want."

No, they usually don't say that. They say, "We have a right to noninterference by government," but at the same time they also say, "We mean to be fair with you, to give a reasonable hearing to all major sides of the controversy." By saying both things at the same time, they water down that First Amendment freedom, and they hold themselves to two different standards. That seems to me to be a problem.

I think American media should get their act together and knock off with this fairness stuff, and say, "The First Amendment means what it says, 'Congress will make no law abusing the freedom of the press,' and it stops there." I think along with that the broadcast executives have to start objecting to the whole regulatory regime they live under. Some have, but we need more of that, and until there's a real rejection of the notion that journalism is legitimated by fairness, there will be uncertainty about the First Amendment, fundamental First Amendment freedoms of the press.

QUESTIONER: I'd like to ask Dave if politicians or parties get on record as saying what they believe, even if it's a rather low standard, and they proceed to do exactly what they say, do you think the press then shouldn't criticize?

RUBIN: Let me take what you say and put it into the media realm. Let's take the *New York Post*. I think from time to time it would be useful to remind people, with examples, of the standards the *Post* has, in fact, set for itself. Through criticism and comment we should make sure the people who buy it know exactly what it is they are buying. Similarly with politicians,

make sure the voting public knows exactly who it is they are voting for.

QUESTIONER: I want to make clarifications to Weaver on your point about the litigation against Vanderbilt in the beginning. Most of it was done by CBS, and CBS is concerned about copyright. They may have had other motives, but they finally won the judgment, they won the court case, and then turned around and sold the right to store CBS materials to Vanderbilt for a dollar a year. So their concern, I think, was almost entirely not with avoiding criticism of the network but simply establishing that very murky and difficult terrain of what is copyrightable about a broadcast.

BOYLAN: We had a piece that traced the history of that episode, and my recollection is that the copyright question did not seem very important to CBS until some excerpts from news broadcasts were used in a critical context in Washington, whereupon the lawsuit seemed to get rolling extremely fast.

QUESTIONER: One other thing unrelated to really anything you said: the business of citizen response. If newspapers don't at least try to be fair and try at least that approach, as imperfect as it is, don't they then begin to look arrogant, and we go back to the real problems we had with yellow journalism, with arrogance? And the public says, "You people don't care about anything. They do what they want to."

WEAVER: I believe that journalism should seek to be and be fair. All I was trying to say, probably ineffectively, was that the First Amendment rights of journalists don't depend on their being fair. They have those rights even when they're not fair, and it's terribly important to make the distinction.

The First Amendment rights are to free speech and that can even be unfair speech, and when it is, it still should be protected. We confuse things when we join those two issues together and suggest that the reason we can be given freedom is that we will be fair. I think that confuses it hopelessly.

QUESTIONER: Do local press councils deter pugnacious publishers from going out and getting the next investigative piece because they've been rapped on the knuckles by some citizen or citizens, or do you suppose that they actually assist in educating the public, making them more sophisticated and assisting in producing better newspapers and other publications?

GHIGLIONE: Well, there aren't many local press councils around to talk about. I know that there was one in Riverside [California] off and on and one in Colorado. But I was thinking of community councils as opposed to statewide or national. I don't know that councils have that kind of negative impact. I can't believe that they would hurt somebody who has a good idea for an investigative piece, but that person would have to be pretty timid and weak-willed to worry about what a press council would say, and they usually have been generated by the newspaper in the first place. □

Old Vinegar in New Bottles

An Historical View of the NWIO Debate

Stuart James Bullion

The shape of future transnational communication is being formed on the ideological battleground between the forces of the industrialized West, the developing countries, and the socialist bloc.

The New World Information Order (NWIO) debate is not new at all. Perhaps much of the bitter climate surrounding charges against the extant international media system would give way to an atmosphere of greater cooperation and progress if this historical reality were better understood by protagonists on all sides of the NWIO controversy. Whether or not history is the best teacher, it is an instructive source that cannot be ignored.

These conclusions result from a study of international mass communication polemics aired between the two World Wars. Then, as today, the debate was urgent and divisive. Then, as today, the major world press associations were the target and intergovernmental bodies were the forum for attempts at reform.

Since the early 1970's, the less developed countries (LDCs, or Third World) have raised their collective voice in UNESCO and elsewhere to deplore the "imbalance" of international information flows. Third World spokesmen such as Commissioner Mustapha Masmoudi of Tunisia have called for a "new order" to reform a situation in which the LDCs are ill-served by an information system dominated by the industrialized West and

the "Big Four" news agencies (the United States' AP and UPI, the United Kingdom's Reuters, and France's AFP). With considerable justification borne out by empirical research, the LDCs claim they are subjected to a one-way flow of news from the West that does little to advance their national development goals. Their image abroad, as projected by the Big Four, sensationalizes "coups and earthquakes" — in the words of author Morton Rosenblum — and ignores advances in education, agriculture, industry, and health. The status quo, they complain, places vital telecommunications technology in the hands of the media-rich states, deepening the various gaps that exist between the haves and have-nots of the world.

Thus their calls for a NWIO to rectify such imbalances. Thus the fears of the Western communication powers, who see the NWIO as a threat to freedom of the press. The NWIO, to them, raises the specter of state involvement in the mass media and in the abandonment of the "free flow" doctrine that has served Western media enterprises so well. These concerns as well are not without justification. It is entirely possible UNESCO may opt for a New World Information Order codified in international law. Thus, then, the essentially political impasse between two groupings of nations that have so much to offer one another.

Ironically, in the 1920's and 1930's, it was the United States that raised many of the complaints the Third World echoes today. Britannia ruled the waves, and Reuters ruled the world's information network. Great Britain controlled the transoceanic cable system, with its nerve center in London. Reuters conceived and disseminated its view of global reality. American scholars, newsmen, and politicians decried the stereotyped image of their country abroad. In 1934, one U.S. observer, O. W. Riegel, wrote in his book *Mobilizing for Chaos*, "Many Europeans believe that Indians, bathing beauties, and gangsters infest our streets, and that the country is in immediate danger of being

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taken over by organized crime." Almost any Third World critic might write today that, "Europeans, Americans, and even other LDCs believe that savage tribesmen, murderous religious zealots, and mutinous soldiers infest our streets, and that the country is in danger of being taken over by corruption, famine, and despotism." How, indeed, can a country with such a reputation be taken seriously in the world community?

Unable to break Britain's stranglehold on the cables, America took to the airwaves for its international communications, and it has dominated global broadcasting and space communications ever since. The intense rivalry for technological superiority among the United States, Britain, France, Germany, and Japan during the period from 1919 to 1939 reflected the recognition that whoever controls the information channels has a major influence on their content and impact. In a time of worldwide propaganda warfare, not unlike the present, the media were seen as vehicles for political, economic, and strategic competition. As writer L. B. Tribolet noted in 1929 (*The International Aspects of Electrical Communications in the Pacific Area*), "Physical force is still as potent in international relations as duels were in individual relations a century ago. But, more and more, nations are discovering that propaganda rules the world."

A survey of the international communications literature of the twenties and thirties reveals a central concern for the potential of the news media in exacerbating or mitigating war tensions. "Sensationalism in international news reacts immediately upon the attitudes of governments," eminent U.S. editor W. J. Abbot wrote, "and antagonisms created between states logically lead to war."

Such fears were based on the devastating experience of World War I. World War II and rising Cold War tensions no doubt inspired UNESCO's 1945 Constitution, with its opening statement, "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed." In this spirit, as deeply rooted in the twenties as in the forties, UNESCO adopted in 1978 a cornerstone document of the NWIO debate, its "Declaration on Fundamental Principles Concerning the Contributions of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racism, Apartheid and Incitement to War."

Forty-two years earlier, the League of Nations, ancestor of the United Nations, enacted a largely forgotten International Convention Concerning the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace. In the same vein, the League had played host to a 1927 Conference of Press Experts, representing thirty-eight countries, at which a leading agenda item had been the elimination of belligerent propaganda in the world's press. Then, as today, free flow advocates condemned state control and censorship of the news media, while less secure countries pressed for means of protecting their sovereignty and international reputations.

Despite the best of intentions, attempts by the League and other groups to rectify the perceived communication imbalances of the day were swept away by the tides of war and were largely

ignored after 1945, even as new complaints were raised. So short-lived were those efforts that it is impossible to say if they might have helped avert the conflagration had they been enacted earlier.

The recognition that mass communication serves national political, economic, and military interests is hardly new. That media resources are inequitably distributed among nations has been established for some time. Also, there is a precedent for action in this domain by intergovernmental organizations such as UNESCO. What then is "new" in the NWIO debate, which some would term a crisis?

A major grouping of actors — the Third World — is new. Never before have so many states achieved sovereignty in so short a time. Since World War II, more than half the present membership of the United Nations has attained statehood. Never before have the world's have-nots controlled a majority vote on critical global issues in such an important forum. The orientation of the Third World is equally new. Before World War II, the vast majority of the actors belonged to a common Euro-American tradition, and confronted each other over common questions of war and peace within their ranks. The Third World is qualitatively different, as a non-Western coalition aloof from the northern hemisphere's political traditions. As former colonies, most LDCs suspiciously view nearly all industrialized Western powers (including the United States) as former colonial rulers who would maintain the Third World in a position of indefinite dependency. The term "cultural imperialism" was rarely heard in the international communication polemics of the twenties and thirties. Yet it is the watchword of the NWIO debate.

The central contentions of these discussions are not essentially new. However, the set of protagonists is. History suggests that the media-poor states will opt for drastic measures, including censorship, against the media rich in an effort to secure their perceived national interests. So it is with the LDCs today, many of whom favor a detailed and codified NWIO that would forcibly restrict the West's international communication activities. (This option has the tacit backing of the Soviets, who see in it a legitimization of their own authoritarian media policies that would not at the same time curtail their worldwide propaganda initiatives.)

World War II demonstrated that states will flout international communication regulations in favor of their national interests, especially in time of crisis. The effectiveness of such regulation is thus questionable. The lesson for the LDCs may well be to avoid essentially ideological actions with their divisive potential in favor of actions that will build their autonomous communications capacity. This leaves open a wide range of cooperative initiatives where some progress has already been registered (e.g., technology transfer, telecommunications tariff reform, broadcast frequency reallocation, joint communication satellite ventures, and regional news associations, programming consortia, and training/research centers). UNESCO's recently created International Program for the Development of Communication offers a viable forum for such cooperation between North and South, and East and West. □

Journalism Studies: Search for a Science

William R. Lindley



Is accreditation necessary for journalism schools?
Opinion was divided in the beginning, still is,
and may be forever.



After more than a century of academic trial and error, the state of journalism education still is confused. General Robert E. Lee, Harvard President Charles W. Eliot, Joseph Pulitzer, and dozens of deans have tried their hands at grand or modest designs. Yet a major debate today is: What should go into an accredited journalism program? Some highly rated universities have made the decision to shun accrediting altogether — Michigan early in 1983 became the third to do so within a year, preceded by Northwestern and Boston Universities. Stanford hasn't been accredited for years. Boston University contested the accrediting council's recognition by the U.S. Department of Education, which granted two further years of approval — instead of the routine four — pending study.

This turmoil at the top must be of concern to accredited schools such as Western Kentucky University and St. Cloud State, accredited North Texas State and nonaccredited East Texas State, and major schools, too, among the eighty or so in the accreditation lodge. All told, they are a minority among degree-granting institutions. Journalism accreditation is voluntary.

Some recent changes in journalism education are self-evident. For example, schools have proved that you can take the newsroom out of the classroom. According to many of its practitioners, journalism has become a social science. But in pushing subject matter into mass communication theories derived from social psychology, the neojournalists have found sociologists shoving back. Now more and more "mass comm" books are being written by sociology Ph.D.'s. The flourishing

enrollments in journalism programs — for whatever reason — appeal to untenured faculty of high and low degree.

The "Ivy-ing" of journalism, from "mass comm" to social science, has developed for a good reason. Years ago gifts to struggling schools were made in order to help their faculties train better writers and editors. However, such gifts were few, and in the long run, faculty perks and promotions required approval from academic types who didn't know a jump head from a classified ad. A brief, youthful fling in the newsroom often provided faculty with all the buzz words and basics they needed in teaching undergraduate courses.

Today it is no surprise to find some of academic renown dispensing their expertise at media conventions and confabulating on the basis of a couple of years, or summers, at a city room typewriter. It should be added that the prevalence of VDT's now in newsrooms has given quick obsolescence to the value of such brief experiences. Faculty members with limited exposure to the working press may cover this with sweeping statements about the marvels of the future.

An early exponent of education for journalists, General Robert E. Lee in 1869 started press scholarships at what is now Washington and Lee University. Under his plan, boys could work for tuition at the local printing plant while taking the classical course of study at the college.

Cornell University brought journalism into the classroom briefly about 1876, but the program attracted few students. Gradually some schools added a journalism course in the English department, while others allied the subject to publishing.

During Charles Eliot's tenure as President of Harvard University, from 1869 to 1909, Joseph Pulitzer proposed the founding of a journalism school, only to disagree with Eliot on a curriculum. The Harvard president's plan ranged from the editorial through the business side, thus traducing Pulitzer's idea that editorial labor was a profession, while the rest of the news-

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paper was a business. Pulitzer then bestowed \$2 million on Columbia, saying he wished his endowment to "begin a movement that will raise journalism to the rank of a learned profession." Many others since then have wished the same, without evident success.

Yet journalism education grew, and increased from a quartet of four-year programs in 1910 (at New York University and the Universities of Missouri, Wisconsin, and Washington) to fifty-four in 1927. On one hand, literary aspects had been discarded; on the other, printing often had been ceded, and a survey of about forty schools in 1924 showed general agreement on such basic subjects as reporting, copy reading, feature writing, editorial writing, criticism, history, comparative journalism, and ethics. Today general agreement on such subjects would be unthinkable, for in 1930 a small cloud appeared — an article in *Journalism Quarterly* by a Drake University professor named George Gallup. It was titled, "A Scientific Method for Determining Reader Interest."

Meanwhile, at the University of Wisconsin, the first doctorate in journalism-social science, which Willard G. Bleyer had developed, was conferred on a student named Ralph D. Casey. Several men who were to head major schools earned the same degree. Soon Casey was chairing the program at Minnesota, taking the lead in proclaiming journalism as a social science, and supporting the establishment of a division of research at Minnesota in 1944, a first for an American school of journalism. Still, practical courses dominated the catalog.

In those days, graduates fresh from college often entered rambunctious newsrooms where a degree in journalism was regarded as absurd or hilarious. Only with the G.I. Bill after World War II did the middle-class news staff begin to develop. The police-beat tipsters became less magnetic, replaced by white collar sources in government bureaucracies. Only copy desk veterans wore green eyeshades. Reporters became staff writers, and thought about joining the country club. Their copy sometimes carried a dryness like that of term papers in sociology. No wonder.

Some journalism departments were becoming departments of mass communication. Earnest faculty members still taught writing and editing, but they seemed to lack the stature of those in the working press. Sometimes a former Washington bureau chief would be hired to teach the news basic — usually a polished type who fitted in well, and was a good professor to have out front when a publisher visited and wondered if anything practical was being taught. Recently the mix in faculty members has been further compounded as university administrators trim budgets to recession levels by merging some journalism and "mass comm" departments with speech programs, and occasionally with theater. Additional confusion has resulted, especially for undergraduate students.

A recent survey of Ph.D. candidates showed turmoil at the graduate level, too. Deploring today's newswriting, some planned to teach writing and editing. Others said the media no longer should ask universities to do their training, since

theory is more valuable in the long run than knowing how to count headlines. On some campuses, the problem of career preparation is being "solved" by sending advanced, academic-type students out to intern in the media, from which there is the predictable cry, "We don't have time to teach them what they should be learning in the classroom!"

Now the whole array of offerings is being re-examined in the controversy over accreditation. Despite the attempts to clarify the situation by educators and news executives over the past century, the question persists: What should schools and departments of journalism and "mass comm" be teaching? Answers can be predicted on the basis of a school's entrenched policies and tenured interests. Currently, and as it has been for a hundred years, the state of affairs remains one of great confusion. □

Enough Is Too Little

continued from page 29

"And regardless of an issue's original impetus, the press surely can improve its performance in simplifying and illuminating the alternatives presented. That reduction of complexity and incompleteness meets a prime need of the citizen who is often left with fragments of large questions.

"This new dimension that I am talking about is nothing more than old, good journalism, you say. And I agree. I simply suggest that we set a new priority to the practice of journalism whole, rather than preoccupy ourselves with narrow emphasis on fashionable pieces of that whole which might be in vogue.

"The adversary press, which rebelled against the conformity of the obedient press, can in turn shield itself against a new conformity — that of a mindless anti-authority — by emphasizing a dimension of issue-oriented explanatory journalism that will make us as newly demanding of ourselves, to inform the public on the choices before it, as we have become demanding of authority figures to justify *their* exercise of power."

Five years later, I feel even more strongly that we must exercise ourselves to explain complexity, as well as to monitor authority.

Hastiness and superficiality do remain too often our hallmarks, while too complacently we excuse ourselves from the duty of intellectual rigor and settle merely for the role of police officers or partisans.

For the good of the country as well as ourselves, we do need to start breaking out of our petrified armor of inertia before events lay their crowbar across our heads.

The good news is, we have begun the essential self-examination that is preliminary to new exploration. Out of it is going to come, I think, an elevation of our goals and better work for what is, perhaps, a still-believing people who expect more of us than we've yet bestirred ourselves to deliver. □

USA-USSR Citizens Dialogue Committee

Frank K. Kelly

A group of Soviet officials and Americans meet to promote
an exchange of visits by U.S. and Soviet citizens.

Frank K. Kelly (NF '43), who is senior vice president of the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation in Santa Barbara, California, and a board member of the National Peace Academy Campaign, gave a talk in Moscow in April to a group of Soviet officials and Americans, members of the USA-USSR Citizens Dialogue Committee. That committee was established in 1979 to promote an exchange of visits by U.S. and Soviet citizens.

Kelly's long journalistic career has included speech writing for President Harry S. Truman and assisting Robert Hutchins (at the time President of the University of Chicago) to establish the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, with which he was associated for sixteen years. Kelly published a book in 1983 summarizing efforts to establish a National Peace Academy in this country. In his Moscow talk, he said that the Academy is likely to be approved by Congress this year and that that would be "a signal to the world that the U.S. is dedicated to the peaceful resolution of all conflicts." Excerpts of his talk follow.

The Americans who landed on the moon in 1969 transmitted pictures of the fragile blue ball on which we live, demonstrating that we share a small globe — a single spaceship. How can we, as citizens of the two most powerful nations on earth, permit the continuation of a nuclear arms race which may lead to the destruction of our home in the universe?

Those of us who believe in God feel that the Creator did not design this magnificent planet, so full of life, so marvelous in many ways, to be destroyed by human folly. Those who do not believe in God still strive to preserve life for themselves and for their children.

In the United States, in Europe, in all parts of the world, millions of people are now demanding an end to the nuclear arms race. In the United States, 11.6 million people voted last autumn to endorse a proposal calling for a verifiable freeze on the development, testing, and deployment of nuclear weapons. In Europe, millions of people have taken part in demonstrations against the ceaseless production and deployment of nuclear arms.

With the oneness of the world brought home to us by our space explorers, more and more people are awakening to the fact that all of us *do* participate — one way or another — in the shaping of events. If we are passive, if we shrug our shoulders and say that the nuclear arms race is beyond our control, then we are succumbing to fatalism,

we are surrendering our power as human beings.

When Robert McNamara, the American Secretary of Defense under President John Kennedy and President Lyndon Johnson, was asked how we had fallen into this nuclear predicament, he answered: "Because the potential victims have not been brought into the debate yet, and it's about time we brought them in." The nuclear freeze movement in the United States and in Europe has certainly brought millions of people to realize that they must do something to prevent a nuclear war.

Leaders of the freeze movement interpreted the results of the voting [in the U.S. in November 1982] as "a clear public mandate to end the nuclear arms race now." Randy Kehler, national coordinator of the campaign, declared: "It was the closest equivalent to a national referendum in the history of American democracy." Nearly 20 million Americans voted on the proposal, with 60 percent favoring it and 40 percent against it. Since it is rare in American elections for 60 percent of the voters to approve any proposal, the margin of victory for the freeze was highly significant.

President Reagan and his advisors, however, continued to insist that a freeze agreement with the Soviet Union under existing conditions would simply lock the United States into a position of inferiority. Mr. Reagan insisted repeatedly that the huge increase in Soviet military strength in the last ten years was a threat to American security. His program for large increases in American arms spending continued to receive the support of large numbers of Americans.

American attitudes toward arms spending have been deeply affected by Soviet actions. In 1968 President Lyndon Johnson was prepared to make a joint announcement with Leonid Brezhnev of steps toward a Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT). But the movement of Soviet tanks and troops into Czechoslovakia caused a sharp reaction in the American public, and the SALT negotiations did not get under way until Richard Nixon had become President.

The views of the American public can shift with astonishing speed. The treat-

ment of news events by the broadcasting media and the newspapers — often used by presidents to sway public opinion — may swing millions of citizens from one position to another. When President Reagan took office in January of 1981, a poll taken for him by Richard Wirthlin indicated that 76 percent of those questioned by the pollster favored a massive increase in arms spending, while only 13 percent wanted cuts in the Pentagon's budget. Wirthlin's polls helped Reagan to gain Congressional approval for enormous increases in military appropriations.

The American build-up in arms began under President Jimmy Carter, who had been told by his advisors that the Soviet Union had increased its military budget substantially for fifteen years while the United States had fallen behind in the arms competition. At the Vienna summit meeting in 1979 between President Carter and President Brezhnev, Mr. Brezhnev asked: "Why speed up the arms race? Let us limit weapons, not increase them." Mr. Carter replied that each side would have to face the inevitability of military parity with the other, but he acknowledged that there could not be

"any superiority or victory in a nuclear war."

In his recent book, *Keeping Faith*, Mr. Carter wrote that he had been very much moved by President Brezhnev's concern about the nuclear arms race. He said that Mr. Brezhnev put one hand on his shoulder and asserted that the United States and the Soviet Union must succeed in avoiding a nuclear war. He quoted Mr. Brezhnev as saying, "If we do not succeed, God will not forgive us." Later on, when Mr. Carter referred to this statement, he noted that Foreign Minister Gromyko — perhaps with an attempt at humor — had commented: "Yes, God above is looking down at us all."

Although he was deeply troubled by the increasing peril of a nuclear holocaust — and his religious faith compelled him to work for peace — Mr. Carter decided in 1980 that the political situation in the United States made it impossible for him to obtain ratification of the SALT II Treaty signed by the Soviet Union and the United States. He reports that former President Gerald Ford and other Republican leaders told him that he could not get enough Republican



Frank Kelly at home in Santa Barbara after his trip to Moscow.

Rafael Maldonado, Santa Barbara News-Press

votes in the Senate to ratify the treaty. Later, in the election campaign, Ronald Reagan attacked the treaty, calling it "fatally flawed."

What happened to the SALT II Treaty illustrates the severe problems confronting American leaders and the American public in attempting to limit the nuclear arms race. Peace efforts by the political party which holds power are liable to be denounced by political opponents as "appeasement" or based on dangerous concessions to a cunning and powerful adversary. The Soviet Union is depicted in the worst possible light — described as ruthless, untrustworthy, determined to dominate the world. The fears of millions of Americans are aroused, and millions are persuaded again that national security depends upon building more rockets and nuclear bombs.

Thus far, the leaders of the nuclear freeze movement have maintained a steady momentum in spite of the waves of fear which periodically sweep through the United States. Along with the freeze movement, a strong movement against nuclear weapons has developed in the major churches in the U.S.A.

There is another public effort in the United States which may help to limit the arms race and prevent a nuclear war — the National Peace Academy Campaign, in which I have been participating for the last four years. The Campaign now has members in all of the states, and it has been endorsed by religious and civic organizations with millions of members.

The United States has four military academies and five war colleges. In 1975 a group of Senators and other citizens decided that the time had come to create a Peace Academy — taking up an idea originally advocated in 1793 by a black mathematician, Benjamin Banneker, and a physician, Dr. Benjamin Rush, a signer of the American Declaration of Independence, who had proposed a "Peace Office for the United States." Senator Vance Hartke (D-Ind.), Senator Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.), and others sponsored a bill to form a George Washington Peace Academy.

That bill led to the formation of a National Peace Academy Campaign with

members from many professions. The Campaign persuaded Congress to establish a nine-member federal commission to investigate the possibilities of the idea. That commission held hearings in twelve major cities in 1980, ranging from Honolulu to Miami, taking testimony from more than a thousand citizens.

In 1980, the commission submitted an interim report to President Carter, strongly recommending that a U.S. Academy of Peace be established as soon as possible. Mr. Carter welcomed the report and endorsed the proposal. In 1981, the Commission gave its final report to President Reagan, who did not make any public comment on it. Later, one of his assistants said that the administration would not support it because of "budgetary constraints." Nevertheless, both the House and the Senate are now in the process of passing legislation to form such an academy.

More than fifty Senators are sponsoring a bill in support of the Academy. More than one hundred members of the House of Representatives are sponsoring a similar bill in the House. Both bills call for the creation of an independent, non-partisan educational institution with a fifteen-member board of directors, dedicated to the education and training of professional peacemakers and to the dissemination of information about the developing art of peaceful conflict resolution.

Senator Spark Matsunaga (D-Hawaii), who served as chairman of the federal commission that recommended the Academy, declared: "For 200 years, American leaders have urged creation of a federal institution devoted to the peace education and peacemaking capacities of the American people and their government. That major step is poised to be taken now with the establishment of the Academy of Peace."

The suggestion that the United States or the Soviet Union might take the initiative in stopping the arms race by publicly dismantling half of its nuclear weapons was called an "interesting idea" by a Soviet official Kelly spoke with, but, reports Kelly, that official

"didn't think the Soviet Union could take such a step.

"But one side or the other has to take the initiative in halting the arms race," Mr. Kelly said.

"Not necessarily," the Soviet official said. "We can achieve mutual reductions in nuclear arms through negotiations such as those that led to the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties."

"Meanwhile, the arms race goes on," Mr. Kelly said.

The Soviet official nodded. "I'm afraid that's the way it has to be." □

Bridge Or Barrier

continued from page 26

believe we are now perhaps between 55 and 60 percent the paper we intend to be in professional terms; yet we have already attracted widespread praise and accolades from a mostly hostile fraternity of fellow journalists. As to influential, I could rattle off dozens of anecdotes — I will mention just two or three.

We have already been denounced in a lengthy telex from a member of the central committee of the Communist party in Moscow. The telex was delivered to us by messenger from the Soviet Embassy.

In Peking, the New China News Agency dedicated an entire editorial to us in which they said we had brought to Washington the rotten smell of the nineteenth century. I happen to like the nineteenth century.

I should first say on the other nobler side of the China coin, the Premier of the Republic of China told me in Taipei a few months ago that *The Washington Times*, which the Chinese, in common with most of the world's other governments, track very closely, is the greatest beacon of hope for the non-Communist world he has seen in many years. I believe he spoke sincerely.

Closer to home, Helen Thomas, dean of the White House correspondents, reported in her column several months ago that we are one of four papers the Presi-

dent tries to read every day. The others are *The New York Times*, *The Los Angeles Times*, and *The Washington Post*. A number of White House friends have told us that we are, in fact, the first newspaper the President reads each day.

On the day when the death of Chairman Brezhnev was announced and the entire focus of the senior levels of the U.S. government was on the question of Kremlin succession, White House Chief of Staff Jim Baker left those meetings to keep a luncheon meeting with our senior editors. I could go on. But my favorite story was told to me by a member of our Editorial Advisory Board whose son lives in Bethesda.

Driving to work one day the young man stopped at a traffic light. Glancing up, he saw a limousine pull alongside and, in the back seat, was Mr. Tip O'Neill — reading *The Washington Times*!

Such stories are satisfying to us. But they are, of course, far more than satisfying. They tell us that in just one, incredibly eventful year, we are already making our mark on Washington, and through Washington, on the world at large. And mark is what for us it's all about, because we view our role at *The Washington Times* as more than merely producing a great newspaper. We view ourselves as warriors in the battle of ideas, a battle which until now has been far too unequal.

But not everyone, of course, can launch a major metropolitan newspaper in the crucible of decision in order to combat media bias. Yet, if you believe, as I do, that this bias exists, and if you believe — with Disraeli — that it is with words that we govern people, what can you do? You can do more than most people suspect — but you cannot make a difference without exerting yourself — just as freedom itself cannot be preserved without exertion.

For example, if you see, or hear, or read stories which you have good reason to believe are inaccurate, or misleading or lop-sided, then protest. But do it with chapter-and-verse, challenging error with fact, bias with reasoned and sturdy argu-

ment. Editors, producers, writers do listen to such specific challenges.

You can, further, support organizations such as Accuracy in Media, or The Media Institute, which are fighting hard for balance, for honesty.

In the end if you think that we are just too powerful to take on singly, then join organizations battling across a broad spectrum for the ideas they believe in — from the American Civil Liberties Union on the left, to the American Conservative

Union on the right.

It is worth the exertion.

James Madison, one of the guiding geniuses of this nation, wrote nearly 200 years ago: "A popular government, without popular information or a means of acquiring it, is but a prologue to a farce, or a tragedy, or perhaps both."

We at *The Washington Times*, in our modest way, are doing our best to prevent this age from being such a prologue. □

Change and Exchange

continued from page 2

trum, Donald Hetzner conducts a post-mortem on the death of the *Buffalo Courier-Express*. Four newsmen exchange views on media criticism at a roundtable discussion, including comments on past and present journalistic magazines. None of the panelists mentions *NR*, but inasmuch as the transcript of their talk was sent to us for consideration in these pages, we ought to point out that the Nieman Foundation's quarterly was one of the first in the country; and it has been published without interruption since 1947.

Eugene Patterson urges the media to be even more diligent in its examination of its own performance. W. R. Lindley suggests that questions of curriculum and accreditation in journalism schools

are nearly as old as the nation itself. Perceiving one's fellow human beings as stereotypes of one kind or another is too often habitual in all the media; Bernard Rubin cites chapter and verse. As publisher and editor of a newspaper often seen with a certain mind-set, James Whelan describes the climate in the receiving end of stereotyping. Bert Lindler takes us to a corner of the country where the connection between land and people is immediate and critical.

Nieman alumnus Frank Kelly travels overseas to participate in an exchange of friendship between Soviet and American citizens. S. J. Bullion informs us that the current concern over the global flow of world information is not new: the questions remain, only the contexts differ.

—T.B.K.L.

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BOOKS

A Quantity of Quality

A Journey for Our Times: A Memoir

Harrison E. Salisbury. Harper and Row, New York, 1983, \$22.50.

by Donald W. Klein

A parlor game for journalists might run as follows. What is the most important foreign affairs story of this era? And who's done the best job of covering it for the press? It's hard to resist the argument that Russia's rise to super-power status is the top story, and it is likely that Harrison Salisbury would head most lists as the best American reporter covering that story. Both points, of course, are arguable, but what is probably not debatable is the quantity: in terms of wire service copy, newspaper reportage, and books, Salisbury has turned out a staggering volume of words on Russia and the Russians.

A Journey for Our Times adds to Salisbury's attempt to understand the Soviet Union. First, however, he describes his youth in Minnesota, his suspension from college in 1930 for a rather minor transgression as a college newspaper editor, and then moves on to his early years with United Press. During the Depression and the New Deal, he learned his craft as a wire service reporter in Minneapolis, St. Paul and other cities in Minnesota as well as Chicago, Washington, D.C., and New York during the early days of World War II. He covered local and national politics, and got a first-hand look at men of power — from Al Capone to F.D.R. to Huey Long. In what is almost a parody of wire service reporting, he describes himself as a "hard-hitting, two-fisted, call-them-as-they-come reporter." These early years are interesting and easy to read about, but they are not the stuff of great autobiography.

UP sent Salisbury to London in early 1943, and with that step his life changed dramatically. Yet wartime London was only a stride toward the real story — Russia. In a half-year there, Salisbury quickly learned some basic lessons about covering the Soviet Union. He and his colleagues, he writes, "were all for the Red Army, all for winning the war, all for beating the Germans." But that didn't give the "Russians a right to pretend, for instance, that their Supreme Soviet was a parliament; that they had freedom of politics or press or any right to lay a censorship on us. We fought them," he continues, "every step of the way." He rapidly reached the conviction that "the Soviet government (as distinguished from the Russian people) was two-faced, lying, cheating, impossible."

And thus his first tour in Russia formed the enduring love-hate relationship — the love and admiration for Russians and Russian culture, and the hatred of the dour bureaucrats who turned the Soviet state into such a gray and forbidding country. From this point, the autobiography soars.

By his own admission, Salisbury was almost totally unprepared for his 1944 UP assignment in Russia. But he learned enough to write *Russia on the Way*, the first of his twenty-three books, most of them about the Soviet Union. Back in New York, Salisbury met the great British historian of Russia, Sir Bernard Pares. He "put a spell on me," Salisbury gratefully comments, and encouraged him to prepare for a career covering Russia. He did just that, and in the meantime, unhappy with UP, began cultivating his contacts at *The New York Times*. The

Times finally gave him a job ("a lifetime ambition achieved"), and Salisbury was off for Moscow on his most important assignment as a foreign correspondent.

He arrived in Moscow in early 1949, the veritable peak of the Cold War. Covering Moscow has never been easy, but this was probably the most difficult time since the 1917 Revolution. Each day was a battle with the leaden bureaucracy, drab living conditions, sometimes the secret police, and, especially, the censor. For a reporter who gained a reputation for his adversarial relationship toward the U.S. government (especially during the Vietnam War), it is revealing to read of his close ties to American officials in Moscow. He casually notes, for example, occasions when he sent letters back to the *Times* "through the diplomatic pouch." In the 1980's, it's hard to imagine a foreign correspondent recalling that he "sat at the feet" of an ambassador, who would be "my guide, my inspiration, my mentor on Russia." The ambassador, of course, was George Kennan.

For the next six years Salisbury reported from Moscow. This is the heart and soul of this memorable autobiography. He slowly, painfully, and sometimes dangerously built up his vast store of knowledge and understanding about Russia and the Russians. The Kremlin walls were virtually impenetrable, so Salisbury made the most of his contacts with the ordinary Russians he met and his reporting about the day-to-day life of average citizens. This great feel for everyday life may account for the vividness of his description of Russia in Stalin's last days.

The most engrossing parts of the book are those that describe the cat-and-mouse game with Soviet officialdom, especially the censors, who thought nothing of simply cutting Salisbury's words in favor of passages lifted directly from *Izvestiya*. In such an atmosphere, it's not surprising that he occasionally

made up stories about some event so he could see what the censors would pass or cut. He did that, for example, when Mao Tse-tung was in Moscow in 1950 to negotiate the Sino-Soviet Treaty with Stalin.

This game of chess was further complicated by troubles with the editors back in New York. In one case, for instance, in attempting to slip information by the censor, he wrote that livestock production had passed 1916 production under the czar. This artful dodge got past the censors, but he was rebuked by New York: What did Salisbury "mean hailing Soviet livestock production when it barely exceeded that of 1916?" On another occasion, a series of articles written soon after the beginning of the Korean War was held up in New York because some senior editors felt the pieces were "Communist propaganda." Three decades after the event, the bitterness clearly lingers about this "vicious attack on the series."

Back in New York in 1954, Salisbury wrote another series for the *Times* that, to no one's surprise, won the Pulitzer

Prize (1955). A few final chapters tie up the loose threads, including an interesting portrait of Khrushchev, but the autobiography essentially ends in the mid-1950's.

This memoir is, quite simply, the work of a real professional. There are too many sad, frustrating, and difficult moments in dealing with Soviet officials, or in reporting on Russians' lives, to make this a "happy" book. But it is a great tale about a crucially important subject. Even jaded Russian specialists should pick up some insights into Soviet thinking and action, and future foreign correspondents can only profit from this consistently well-written book.

Salisbury promises a second volume that will presumably cover his later journeys to the domains of Mao Tse-tung, Ho Chi Minh, and Bull Conner. He will be hard pressed to top his first act.

Donald W. Klein is a Professor in the Political Science Department of Tufts University.

ter. ("Another ingredient of most short stories is the character," a profundity with which few would quarrel.) Next, one is told to consult the section on Behavior, where "virtually any emotional state or attitude can be found." And so on.

When the writer has exhausted Actions and Descriptions, it's time to write. "Are you ready? Read over your list of ideas once." This wool-gathering will produce such show-stoppers as "Stern-eyed Stanley (Eyes), the proprietor of the face (Faces), cast an approving look (Facial Expressions — Positive), combusted with happiness (Behavior — Pleasure)."

Among the 9,000 unattributed entries, which fill the pages like so much schizophrenic blank verse, are familiar bits and pieces: "the profound and fleshless grin," (Faulkner's "A Rose for Emily") or "big, rather close-set eyes," (D. H. Lawrence's "Rockinghorse Winner"). But much of the collection appears to be left over from a verbal yard sale, the sort of chipped, cracked, non-descript odd pieces which still crowd the 10¢ table at 5 P.M.

One wonders what butterflies of imagination will emerge from such unpromising larvae as:

a sudden chill
living proof
this quiet man
wholly absorbed
manifestly inferior

It might be interesting to reconstruct the process by which these found their way into the text.

Prestwood advises the reader to peruse the *Phrase-Finder* every day, to "work actively at slipping the phrases into your daily conversations." The benefit of such devotion to details is that "you'll be stockpiling your mental reservoir with ideas." And so on.

It is hard to believe that innocent fir trees should have given up their lives to be imprinted with this sort of thing.

Bruce MacDonald is a member of the Massachusetts English Advisory Committee and a former member of the College Board English Review Committee.

Writing by Number

The Creative Writer's Phrase-Finder

Edward Prestwood. ETC Publications, Palm Springs, California, 1984, \$17.95.

by Bruce MacDonald

On occasion, even established writers are reported to bang their heads against "writer's block." The page remains blank; the typewriter is silent; and the Muse — not the imagination — takes flight.

Now, for professionals and beginners alike, comes a handbook which will provoke even the driest bones to dance, *The Creative Writer's Phrase-Finder*. This is a 634-page compendium of topical sentence fragments, transitions, and metaphors (plus thirteen pages of male and female first names) — all the elements required to generate your ordinary work

of art. Subsections include: People (eyes, faces, bodies, etc.), Nature (landscapes, the sun, the sky, etc.), Conveying Meanings (facial expressions — negative; facial expressions — neutral; facial expressions — positive). And so on.

In the introductory chapter, "How To Get The Most Out Of This Book," the author recommends consulting the phrase book and making a list of details which will "flesh out" one's intended story.

"Every scene has a setting," we are told; and the phrase-finder contains ideas for hundreds of settings. The writer is instructed to jot down ideas which are appealing and then go on to the Charac-



Nieman Curator To Step Down

Search Committee Is Formed

James C. Thomson Jr., Curator of Harvard's Nieman Foundation for Journalism and publisher of *Nieman Reports* since 1972, has announced his resignation from that post as of June 1984.

"This has been the most satisfying job of my career," Thomson said, "but twelve years on any assignment is enough for me. I need a new challenge, and the Nieman program will benefit from fresh leadership."

Thomson, whose earlier career included nearly seven years at the White House, State Department, and Capitol Hill, 1960-66, has taught and written for seventeen years at Harvard, both in the History Department and as Nieman Curator. His special fields are the history of American-East Asian relations, press-government relations, and modern China.

Since 1972 Thomson has directed the Nieman Foundation, a mid-career program for journalists from the U.S. and abroad who are annually awarded a nine-month sabbatical at Harvard to pursue a course of study tailored to each Nieman Fellow's needs. He has also produced an intensive annual sequence of Nieman Seminars. By next June nearly 220 journalists will have participated in the Nieman program under Thomson's Curatorship.

During this period the Nieman "profile" has changed from a program of Fellowships largely for male and white newspaper reporters, plus a very few foreigners, to one that — in 1983-84 — includes ten women and eight men, print and broadcast journalists, and representatives from Africa, Asia, Canada, Europe, and the Middle East. Curator Thomson also brought about the 1978 move of the Nieman Foundation into Walter Lippmann House at One Francis Avenue, Cambridge, and organized the successful campaign to endow the new Nieman headquarters there.

According to *The Boston Globe*,

Robin Schmidt, Harvard vice president for public affairs, recently said, "Jim has done a remarkable job. The program was in a state of decay when he took over. It was pulling away from the fabric of Harvard."

In the future Thomson expects to devote himself to "the completion of a long overdue book" and to continue to write for magazines and newspapers. He also plans to "keep teaching and lecturing" and is currently considering alternative bases of operation.

Thomson, most recently co-author of *Sentimental Imperialists: The American Experience in East Asia* (1981), wrote *While China Faced West* (1969), co-edited *American-East Asian relations* (1971), and has been a contributor to numerous periodicals in the fields of East Asian history, the media, and U.S. foreign policy.

Harvard University President Derek Bok has announced the formation of a search committee to recommend a new Curator. Executive Dean of the John F. Kennedy School of Government Hale Champion, a Nieman Fellow himself ('57), will chair the committee.

The seven other members are:

Samuel H. Beer, Eaton Professor of the Science of Government, *emeritus*;

Paul A. Freund, Carl M. Loeb University Professor, *emeritus*;

Ellen Goodman, syndicated columnist for *The Boston Globe* and a Nieman Fellow ('74);

Edward Guthman, editor of *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, also a Nieman Fellow ('51);

Anthony Lewis, columnist for *The New York Times* and Lecturer on Law, Nieman Fellow ('57);

Jean Alice Small, president and publisher of the *Kankakee* (Illinois) *Journal* and Chair of the Small Newspaper Group; and

Richard Wald, Senior Vice President,

ABC-TV News.

Commenting on the committee's assignment, Champion said, "It will be an open search. The committee will be compiling and considering a list of names of men and women who could best continue the Nieman tradition of building bridges between universities and journalists. We will be looking for people whose experience has given them a special understanding both of journalism and of the opportunities available to journalists at a place like Harvard."

The Nieman Fellowships were established at Harvard in 1938 by a bequest of Agnes Wahl Nieman in memory of her husband, Lucius, founder and long-time publisher of *The Milwaukee Journal*. Every year since then about twelve American journalists are awarded nine-month fellowships to study at the University. Since 1952, under separate funding, the program has expanded to include four to six foreign newsmen as well. The Nieman Fellowships provide a mid-career opportunity for journalists to broaden their intellectual horizons through Harvard's many offerings in all of its academic departments and professional schools. □

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Six Foreign Niemans Join Current Class

Three women are among the six journalists from abroad who have been awarded Nieman Fellowships for the academic year 1983-84. In September they joined the twelve American journalists whose names were announced in June as members of the 46th class of Nieman Fellows to study at Harvard.

Four newspapers and two news magazines are represented by the Niemans from other countries. Those members of the class are:

Alice Kao, 34, Deputy City Editor and Chief of Political News Section, *United Daily News*, Taipei, Taiwan.

Her fellowship, which is supported by the Asia Foundation, includes studies in international relations and politics, especially the relationship between the legislative branch and the executive branch of a government. She will also concentrate on aspects of the Chinese mainland, and do research on the production and editorial policies of Boston daily newspapers.

Paul Knox, 32, assistant foreign editor of the *Globe and Mail* in Toronto.

At Harvard he is studying international economics, global politics and the arms race, subjects at the Fairbank Center for East Asian Research, and refresher language courses in French and Italian. His fellowship is supported by a publicly subscribed endowment in memory of Martin W. Goodman, Nieman Fellow '62 and late president of Toronto Star Newspapers, Ltd.

Ghislaine Ottenheimer, 32, staff writer with *L'Express*, Paris.

She is using her Harvard year, which is supported by a grant from the German Marshall Fund of the U.S., to study American political life, the U.S. economy, psychology, U.S. foreign policy since World War II, and East-West relations.

Dalia Shehori, 43, journalist with *Al-Hamishmar Daily*, Jerusalem.

While at Harvard, her focus is on the theory of democracy, particularly the threats faced by the modern democratic state, the integration of different ethnic groups, the influence of the media on behavior of the masses, philosophy, American history and politics, new modes of writing and different approaches to journalistic coverage. Her fellowship is supported by grants from *Al-Hamishmar*, the United States-Israeli Education Foundation, and the Ford Foundation.

Nicholas Valery, 44, Far Eastern correspondent in Tokyo for the *Economist*.

His Nieman year, which is supported by the *Economist*, includes studies on the future of American and Western business enterprise, the nature of Japanese creativity, and industrial problems in the West, such as the dwindling share of

world trade, declining technological competitiveness, corporate undercapitalization, double digit unemployment, and the implementation of an industrial structure council or strategic planning in a federal, noninterventionist, free market system.

Ivor Wilkins, 31, political correspondent and assistant to the editor, *The Sunday Times*, Johannesburg, South Africa.

While at Harvard his concentration is on studies in politics, particularly international affairs, foreign policy, and conflict resolution in divided societies; the role of economics in political decision-making; the American Constitution and the struggle for human rights in the United States; modern history and literature; and architecture, especially housing for urban populations in the Third World. The United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program is sponsoring Wilkins' fellowship. □

LETTERS

A Pair of Bouquets

Just a note to say I appreciate the job you all are doing with NR — your Autumn '83 issue is especially worthwhile and seems to reflect a trend of increasing quality. Keep at it and more power to you.

My father, William A. Townes (Class of '43) has given me a subscription to NR for over a dozen years. It has become one of two magazines I read cover-to-cover within a couple of days of its arrival (the other is *Woodenboat*).

Of course, I have one suggestion — that you eliminate story jumps if it is wieldy to do so. Story jumps are a pet peeve of mine, though I understand their function in publications that go to bed in several signatures or where advertising

is a consideration.

That's a mighty small nit to pick and I mainly want you to know I admire the job that is being done.

BROOKS TOWNES
Seattle, Washington

Just got the latest copy of *Nieman Reports* and found it the most enjoyable ever. The diversity and range of the articles are impressive and the seriousness of the magazine deepens each time. My congratulations.

KEN FREED (NF '78)
Buenos Aires, Argentina

NIEMAN NOTES

*I wish I could stand on a busy corner,
hat in hand, and beg people to throw
me all their wasted hours.*

BERNARD BERENSON

To judge from the activities and commitments of the Nieman mentioned in the following news items, there is nary a wasted minute among them. To the contrary, they all seem likely candidates for corner-standers. Now, where is that hat?

— 1949 —

GRADY CLAY, editor of *Landscape Architecture* magazine, gave the keynote address to the First World Conference on Olmsted Parks in September at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.

Titled "Exploring the Next Landscape," his talk described some of the forces at work on the American landscape, observed how they differ from the ones of Frederick Law Olmsted's time, and examined both the dangers and the opportunities.

— 1953 —

WATSON SIMS, editor and vice president of the *New Brunswick* (N.J.) *Home News*, has been elected secretary of the board of directors.

— 1954 —

RICHARD DUDMAN — although an earlier issue of *NR* carried news of his retirement, the following item from the current *ASNE Bulletin* gives his own account of the past two years, and brings us up-to-date.

I retired from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* in 1981 at the age of 63, moving to Maine to build boats and dabble a bit in the operation of a pair of radio stations my wife had bought a year earlier. I figured my title of chairman of the board of Dudman Communications Corp. would be mainly honorary.

Two years later, the boatbuilding has been postponed — although I do some of the

maintenance on my 28-foot Friendship sloop and am determined to build a sailing dinghy in time for early use by our first granddaughter, now in her second year. I find myself working full-time as vice president for news of the two Ellsworth, Maine stations. We have converted a rip-and-read operation into a serious news organization that scooped the newspapers recently with the exposure of the city tax assessor and acting city manager as a fugitive from a \$3,000 bad-check felony conviction in Massachusetts, effectively preventing him from becoming city manager.

It took a while to learn the new trade, but I now can tell a major story in one minute, including brief taped actualities.

I love the speed and impact of radio journalism. I can have a story on the air within a few minutes of putting down the phone, and what can match the actual voice of a scallop dragger telling how he escaped drowning when his boat sank in a storm or City Councilman Froggy Maddox scolding District Attorney Mike Povich in a dispute over the reappointment of the chief of police?

But we don't knock print. We tell everyone to get the news first on WDEA, then get the details from the good local papers. They include the *Bangor Daily News* and the weekly *Ellsworth American*, the latter owned and edited by James Russell Wiggins, the retired editor of *The Washington Post*. Wiggins and I see each other often at the Ellsworth Rotary Club, which fills the same needs that the Gridiron Club did in Washington.

Helen and I have a winter house in Southwest Harbor and a summer place on Little Cranberry Island, three miles out in the Atlantic, from which we commute by speedboat.

— 1957 —

ANTHONY LEWIS, syndicated columnist with *The New York Times* and Lecturer on Law at Harvard University, has been named the first James Madison Visiting Professor at the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism. The new chair is supported by a gift of \$3 million, the largest in Columbia's history, to establish a center to study First Amendment issues. The center is named for the donors, Saul and Janice Poliak,

a Columbia alumnus and his wife. It will focus scholarly attention on the freedoms of speech and press.

Lewis will hold the position of the Madison Visiting Professorship for the fall semester.

Also, he has been selected to receive the 31st Elijah Parish Lovejoy Award of Colby College. He was honored in a convocation on campus in Waterville, Maine, on November 11th, and at that time gave a public address.

Lewis was named the 1983 Lovejoy Fellow for his distinctive writing and for his unusual courage in stating his views on a variety of issues including those dealing with the U.S. Supreme Court, the Vietnam War, South Africa, and the Middle East.

— 1959 —

MITCHEL LEVITAS, formerly *New York Times* section editor of the "Week in Review," has been made editor of the "Times Book Review" section.

Levitas joined the *Times Magazine* in 1965 and later worked as an assistant metropolitan editor, a deputy metro editor, and as metropolitan editor. Formerly he was a reporter for the *New York Post*.

— 1963 —

WILLIAM EATON, economics reporter in the Washington, D.C. bureau of *The Los Angeles Times*, was assigned to a new post for that newspaper in September. He is now bureau chief in New Delhi. His office address: One, Hanuman Road, New Delhi, 110001 India.

— 1966 —

ROBERT C. MAYNARD, editor and publisher of *The Oakland Tribune* in California, will deliver the sixth annual Frank E. Gannett Lecture on December 7th in Washington, D.C., for the Washington Journalism Center.

The Lecture has been made possible by a grant to the Washington Journalism Center from the Gannett Foundation for "an annual lecture by a distinguished journalist on a jour-

nalistic subject of importance and interest to thoughtful laymen as well as to media leaders."

The Washington Journalism Center is an independent, non-profit educational institution dedicated to helping improve the quality of American journalism. Founded in 1965, the Center regularly sponsors conferences for journalists on key issues in the news.

JULIUS DUSCHA (NF '56) has been Director of the Center since 1968.

A series based on financial journalist ROBERT METZ's book, *Cut Your Own Taxes and Save*, will be released in December by Newspaper Enterprises Association. The book, now in its 1984 edition, has been published annually by NEA for the past eighteen years.

Additionally, there will be a four-part mini-series outlining year-end tax strategies. After the first of the year, a fourteen-part series will follow, supplying tax preparation information and planning tips to "lessen the annual tax bite."

Metz is also New York bureau chief for the Financial News Network.

— 1969 —

GEORGE AMICK, who has been with the *Trenton* (N.J.) *Times* for twenty-one years, has been promoted to state editor from Sunday editor. He formerly had been editor of the *Troy* (Ohio) *Daily News*.

— 1973 —

CARL SIMS, assistant news editor of the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*, was among those attending an October seminar on "Leadership in the Newsroom" in Washington, D.C., under the sponsorship of ANPA, ASNE and APME. He reports that LAUREL SHACKELFORD (NF '81, city editor of *The Louisville Times*) also attended the gathering.

— 1976 —

JIM HENDERSON, national correspondent for the *Dallas Times Herald*, received a Clarion citation for his series on racial attitudes in the New South from Women in Communications at their October meeting in Philadelphia.

This same series has already captured the George Polk Award in Journalism, the Stokes Award, and a National Headliner Award.

— 1978 —

KENNETH FREED, Buenos Aires bureau chief for *The Los Angeles Times*, wrote in October: "I was in Rome for two weeks on vacation the last week of September and the first week of October. I was sitting in the museum of Villa Borguense one day, contemplating a mural on the ceiling, when I heard my name. I looked over and saw [Nieman classmate] MOLLY SINCLAIR. We had dinner that night and a good reunion of two. Had to agree that next to the year in Cambridge, Italy was the best experience of our lives. . . I also had dinner there with AL SHUSTER [NF '67], my new overseer, who also was vacationing in Italy. I missed TONY DAY [also '67] who came through a week or so later.

"A personal note: Although I have been threatening to leave Buenos Aires for almost a year only to have my departure delayed, it now seems certain that I will get to my next assignment by the end of the year. It remains Toronto, Canada."

— 1979 —

The month of October brought a couple of special causes for celebration — the weddings of two members of this class.

MARGARET ENGEL and Bruce Adams were joined in matrimony in Bethesda, Maryland, on October 9th.

The bride is a reporter for *The Washington Post*; the groom is an associate of the Charles E. Kettering Foundation in Washington, D.C. He is the author of several books; most recently he edited, with John Macy and Jackson Walter, *America's Unelected Government: Appointing the President's Team* (Ballinger Publishing Company, 1983).

The marriage of KATHERINE (KAT) HARTING and Robin Travers took place on October 30th in Belmont, Massachusetts.

Kat is the producer for the documentary *Closeup*, ABC, based in Boston. Robin, with the New England Historic Seaport, is building a 120-foot sailing schooner to represent the state of Massachusetts.

FRANK VAN RIPER, national political correspondent for the *New York Daily News*, has been on leave to write a book about John Glenn. Published by Empire Books, and titled *Glenn: The Astronaut Who Would Be President*, it was released in October, and is said

to be the first definitive biography of the candidate. *Glenn* will be reviewed in a future issue of NR.

The Reporter's Handbook: An Investigator's Guide to Documents and Techniques by the Investigative Reporters & Editors, Inc. (IRE), published in October by St. Martin's Press, includes writing by Nieman classmates MARGARET ENGEL and ROBERT PORTERFIELD. She is the author of a chapter entitled "Worker Health and Safety"; his chapter is "Labor."

Porterfield is a reporter with *Newsday*.

— 1980 —

ATSUSHI KUSE, formerly a reporter in the Osaka bureau of *Mainichi Shimbun*, wrote us in October from Tokyo, where he is now assistant program supervisor in the Public Relations and Public Affairs Department of the firm, International Research & Marketing.

"It's about the time that the new Nieman class begins to be in full swing. I recall that the tranquil, scenic New England had been always reminiscent of my hometown in northernmost island of Japan.

"I've been quite okay, so are my wife and children. Can you imagine my daughter, then five years old attending Agassiz kindergarten, is now old enough to pick up a quarrel over a television program to watch with my wife, Yukiko. My son, then three years old, is doubtful of the hand print he left, together with all of the Nieman Fellows and their families, on a wall downstairs of the Nieman office saying that his hand print seemed to be too tiny. Time flies not like an arrow today but like the French superexpress bullet train (not Japanese today).

"Since I left the field of journalism, the *Mainichi Shimbun* — to my great regret — I've been working for an international research and marketing firm as a public relations and public affairs specialist. My assignment includes consultation to a number of Japanese corporations, industrial organizations as well as non-Japanese clients on their PR/PA activities. Part of my regular assignment includes working on editorial board to publish an English-language quarterly magazine funded by the Japan Automobile Manufacturers Association (JAMA). The magazine, entitled *JAMA Forum*, was created in an attempt to provide broad international perspectives and facilitate constructive discourse on issues of multinational concern involving the automobile industry. Myself and other staff

members of my firm here and in New York are responsible for the editorial work.

"Thus I've been very much involved in communication programs to bridge Japan and the U.S.A. and their people. In this connection, it's not a complete departure from journalistic work. I've also been making contacts both with Mr. Masayuki Ikeda [NF '81] of NHK and Mr. Yoichi Funahashi [NF '76] of *Asahi Shimbun* to exchange opinions on matters of mutual interest from time to time. They are quite fine and are keeping busy.

JAN STUCKER, editor of the University of South Carolina's *Business and Economic Review* and a freelance writer, was one of a dozen women journalists who traveled to Greece for ten days in October. Their tour, arranged by the Greek government, was designed to explore the changes put into effect in areas of women's rights during the past two years.

The group met with Melina Mercouri, Minister of Culture, and with Margaret Papandreou, the American-born wife of Premier Papandreou.

— 1981 —

PETER ALMOND, foreign affairs correspondent with *The Washington Times*, has been named bureau chief for the *Times*' first overseas bureau which opened in London in October. He had been one of two *Times*' diplomatic correspondents at the State Department, and formerly was a reporter for the now defunct *Cleveland Press*.

DOUG MARLETTE, editorial and comic strip cartoonist with the *Charlotte (N.C.) Observer*, is the creator of "Kudzu," the Jefferson Communications comic distributed by the Tribune Company Syndicate. The Reverend Will B. Dunn, one of Kudzu's friends, will be the star of a book soon to be published by Thomas Nelson Publishers. The title — *Preacher: The Wit and Wisdom of Rev. Will B. Dunn*.



"The Nieman Tattler," the Class of 1981's own newsletter, reached us recently. We present the following excerpts:

Frank Adams — *The Great Falls Tribune*, Montana.

The Adams Family — All is well in the Far West. For the first time since Frank returned from Boston, the Montana legislature is in session. Much like the mating habits of the armadillo, the Montana lawmakers meet only four months of every two years. "I missed a whole year while I was gone," Frank says — and then adds, "Well . . . I really didn't MISS it. . . ."

Mary Lou has been substitute teaching almost every day because of a flu epidemic that has kept many teachers out of school. "I really love it," she said.

Carlos Aguilar — CBS, Los Angeles.

Hello from the West Coast and (cough) sunny, (cough, cough) Southern California!

Since last spring, I've been based out of the CBS News Los Angeles Bureau. The LA bureau is responsible for covering all of the western states, including Alaska, Hawaii and sometimes Mexico. So, although I'm assigned to Los Angeles, most of the stories I've covered have been from those outlying areas.

It takes about an hour in bumper-to-bumper traffic to get to work. TV City, the location of the bureau, is between Hollywood and Beverly Hills. We live in Rancho Palos Verdes, which is south of Los Angeles, up on a peninsula. We have a fantastic view of the LA basin and the Pacific from our neighborhood. We're just five minutes from the beach.

Teri, Tina and Rita are all adjusting to the LA move in different ways. Rita has taken part in classes in Marineland and is now an expert on marine life. Tina is doing well in school and so is Rita. Teri forgot all about nursing school. She has taken several art classes and workshops. Walking along the beach and exploring tidal pools are her second favorites.

Gerald Boyd

We know him as "Gerald," but to Ronald Reagan it's "Jerry." Without fail the president calls on "Jerry" during his press conferences and the national exposure has caused some ribbing for the only White House correspondent in the class. But, Gerald responds, "I don't care what the guy calls me as long as he keeps on calling."

Besides being granted an exclusive interview with the President, Gerald has joined Reagan on several recent trips, including a January visit to South and Central America.

Robert Cox — *Charleston (S.C.) Post*.

Maud and Bob Cox, Victoria, Robert Andrew, David, Peter, Ruth and their demon dog, Spottie — The Coxes continue to live in Charleston, South Carolina, which friends

in Argentina call their "magnolia-scented Siberia."

Bob writes editorials for *The News and Courier*, talks around for Amnesty International, collaborated with four other experts on terrorism for a forthcoming book to be published to mark the centenary of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., and struggles with a book about Argentina.

Maud teaches English to Cambodian refugees, is continuing her piano studies with Delphin and Romain, duo-pianists who are artists-in-residence at the College of Charleston, and organizes Amnesty International programs in Charleston.

Fleur de Villiers — *The Sunday Times*, Johannesburg, South Africa.

News of de Villiers reaches us from two sources. First was a telephone call from Fleur herself relaying intimate details of a heat wave that had depressed her homeland for the better part of a month. "I just had to call and talk to someone where it was cool," she said. "It's been well over 100 degrees here for the past two weeks," she reported in January. "The whole bloody country is packing up and moving to the Cape," she said, shortly before leaving for a month at her home on the coast.

We next heard news of Fleur through a traveling Atlanta reporter who looked her up for lunch at your editor's suggestion and wrote back: "Fleur is in fine spirits and obviously a much respected individual in these parts. We talked of journalism for the most part."

"Please tell the class that I miss them all. I strenuously believe that all great things are made better by repetition."

Rose Economou — New York City.

In a move that shocked CBS and her mother, Rose turned down offers from the networks and walked away for good from the Sunday Morning Charles Kuralt show last fall to take up free-lance work. "And you better believe I've got the checkbook to prove it, too," she reported by late winter.

Hard at work on several projects that keep her busy and on the road, Rose said she seems to spend much of her time conducting business out of airport telephone booths, surprising friends with her hasty arrivals and departures. As she explains it: "I never know where I'm going until I get there, so I just don't call until I get where I'm going and that way I don't have to disappoint anyone that I didn't show up and went someplace else. See, that makes sense, doesn't it?"

Besides fulfilling a longtime ambition to

work exclusively with documentary films, Rose has also been approached to act as a consulting producer to CBS and to serve as a panelist on media affairs at seminars for several corporations. "It's like being back at Harvard," Rose said, "only you get paid for it."

Mustafa Gürsel — ABC, London, England.

Mustafa has finally gotten off a merry-go-round of global travel to spend more time with Nuran and the kids. "I had been living in a suitcase with a telephone to my ear," said Mustafa from his London home. Still a producer with ABC News, Mustafa said his more recent assignments were keeping him closer to home. The Gürsels even managed

a vacation last fall to their old haunts in Massachusetts on the coast of Cape Cod and in Cambridge where Mustafa enjoyed a beer and cheese with the new class.

Michael Hill — *The Washington Post*.

I'm now editing the Sunday TV magazine for the *Post*. The job came, oddly, after I'd spent some time viewing British television up close, from London, on a terrific vacation. (Brit TV, by the way, is good, but just like our stuff the quality is not uniform)

In any case, I'm now dealing with the airy world of television, complete with up-close and personal interviews of stars (two recent targets: Gladys Knight and Jaclyn Smith).

The only other news is that I bought a sports car last year, and consequently am a threat to turn up in any Nieman's town at any time.

Masayuki Ikeda — NHK Radio, Tokyo, Japan.

Masayuki was promoted with NHK last fall to the news analysis division where he produces specials in Japanese and English. His goal is still to transfer to the foreign news department and a post overseas.

David Lamb — *The Los Angeles Times*, Cairo, Egypt.

David Lamb, and Sandy Northrop — Still the *L.A. Times* best team abroad, David and Sandy took a leave from their Cairo residence for a trip to the states this winter to promote David's book, *Africa*. David has rotated in and out of Beirut during the Lebanon fighting and continues his coverage of northern Africa for the *Times*. Sandy, we hear secondhand, is hard at work on several film projects.

Doug Marlette — *The Charlotte (N.C.) Observer*.

Doug Marlette and Melinda Hartley — Shortly before a late winter visit to Bogota to visit with Pilar and Daniel, Doug dispatched the following: "I continue to contend with two deadlines, a regimen that seems to become more and more second nature along with tri-weekly workouts at the local Y's universal machines and league volleyball. Melinda and I have become volleyball fanatics and play in a league — "The Fighting Armadillos."

Donald McNeill — CBS, Moscow, USSR.

Don McNeill and Sandra Allik — The Iron Curtain has closed securely around our favorite couple in Moscow and no one — to our knowledge — has heard a peep from Don and Sandra for several months. Direct-dial telephone communications with Russia are

verboten. CBS reports both are doing well and "working like hell." Proof of that is in the nightly CBS news broadcast.

Reagan's diplomacy has at least provided Don with ample air time and, if the color in my Sony is registered properly, he appears healthy and trim. Anyone hearing from the couple is urged to spread the news.

Daniel Samper — *El Tiempo*, Bogota, Colombia.

A foul-up in the translation resulted in Daniel Samper receiving the much-coveted Moors Cabot Award in New York last year. Daniel seized the chance for a free trip to the States and paid a visit to Cambridge. "For the first time in our lives, we made it to the main table and Jim Thomson allowed us to have a second serving of ice cream," Daniel boasted. Pilar later showed true wisdom and used the trip as a springboard to Europe. In Bogota, she has been called by a radio chain to start a news program.

Laurel Shackelford — *The Louisville (Ky.) Times*.

Recently named city editor of *The Louisville Times*, Laurel reports she is "trying to cope with it all." She said the new job required "a gross adjustment" in her work hours and habits because of the p.m. deadlines. She said she's usually in the office by 6:30 A.M., and doesn't get out until 5 P.M. But, she adds, "It would be a lie to say I didn't enjoy it." Donald remains active with his own studio efforts as well as teaching courses in black and white photography and the history of photography at the University of Louisville.

Howard Shapiro — *The Philadelphia Inquirer*.

"I have to admit, at the risk of sounding corny, that I absolutely love my job," Howie reports. He helped set up the paper's foreign desk, edits review and opinion pages, acted as city editor, helped put together a new section called "Neighbors" and still covers his demographics beat. Sue, meanwhile, has finished a textbook on learning disorders and continues her consulting work.

Jim Stewart — *The Atlanta (Ga.) Journal and The Constitution*.

It has been a year of change at the Stewart household. After winning a mini-fellowship to Japan, where we enjoyed the hospitality of Masayuki and his family for two months last summer, we both returned to find ourselves in new jobs. Jo was made a bank officer and a downtown branch manager with Citizens and Southern Bank. Jim was named

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assistant managing editor for both *The Atlanta Journal* and *The Constitution*. This means no more bylines, expense accounts, or trips to faraway places. We bought a new house in April. It's a lovely old place with room to grow.

Nancy Warnecke Rhoda — *The Nashville Tennessean*.

Nancy tied the knot January 29 with Richard Rhoda, an assistant chancellor with the Tennessee Board of Regents. The couple interrupted busy careers for only a brief honeymoon, then it was back to work. Nancy recently knocked down several major photo journalism contests, including the Southeastern regional Sigma Delta Chi. One of her latest essays includes "The Brides of Christ," a beautiful word and picture story on a local convent.

Zhao Jinglun — Peoples Republic of China.

Jinglun and Suchu are finishing their third year at Harvard. Jinglun, an Associate in Research at the John King Fairbank Center for East Asian Research, continues work on his book about the United States — a project supported by extended grants from the Ford Foundation and the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia. So far he has visited twenty states, spoken on China to many groups, and published articles in *The New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Christian Science Monitor*, etc.

Suchu earned her Ed.M. degree from Harvard Graduate School of Education last June. She is now a Research Associate at HGSE. Her articles have appeared in both the American and Chinese presses. Last August she spent three weeks in China as a tour guide.

— 1983 —

KARL IDSVOOG, formerly director of the investigative unit of KUTV in Salt Lake City, Utah, has been assigned the post of bureau chief in KUTV's new office in Washington, D.C.

In leafing through the September issue of *American Photographer*, the name ELI REED caught our attention in "Parting Shots." The following letter is reprinted by permission of *American Photographer*.

"To See the Truth: The humanity, horror, and tragedy revealed in Eli Reed's images of Central America (July) touch and disturb the

viewer. His direct, matter-of-fact style is well suited to the starkness and deep suffering of that troubled region. Logic, morality, and words have failed to move Ronald Reagan from his catastrophic trajectory in Central America. I am sending him a copy of Reed's photo essay, "The Tortured Land." Surely even

Reagan must be able to see truth in these pictures. — Dr. Richard W. Slatta, Raleigh, NC."

Reed is a member of Magnum Photos Inc. A portfolio of his photographs, including some from Central America, appeared in the 1983 Summer issue of *NR*.

RANDOM NOTES

Nieman visitors at Lippmann House since we last put these notes together include, in no particular order: Sabam Siagian ('79), *Jakarta Post*, Indonesia; Judy Nicol ('80), *The Washington Post*; Dick Longworth ('69), *Chicago Tribune*; Ton Vosloo ('71), *Nationale Pers* (newspaper group), Cape Town, South Africa; Margot Adler ('82), National Public Radio, New York City; Gunter Haaf ('76), *Die Zeit*, Hamburg, West Germany; Acel Moore ('80), *The Philadelphia Inquirer*; Peter Behr ('76), *The Washington Post*; Ken Clawson ('67), New York; Carl Sims ('73), *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*; Jack Burby ('60), *The Los Angeles Times*; Peter Brown ('82), Scripps Howard News Service, Washington, D.C.; Dick Dudman ('54), WDEA Radio, Ellsworth, Maine; Alan Ehrenhalt ('78), *The Congressional Quarterly*.

LAWRENCE WALSH, whose new address is 100 Sabine Avenue, #1, Narberth, Pennsylvania 19072, writes: "So far as I know, the only two Nieman Fellows who were members of the same undergraduate athletic team are:

Lawrence Walsh ('79) and Charles Sherman ('83). In 1967 we were on the 150-lb. varsity crew, University of Pennsylvania."



As we go to press here in New England, we have just emerged from the annual ritual of setting the clock back to get ourselves in step with the return of Eastern Standard Time.

Mornings are brighter; the day's end darkens, but the important thing is, for a lone celebratory day, we found one more hour.

That's progress.

—T.B.K.L.



1967 University of Pennsylvania varsity 150-lb crew Princeton race. Lawrence Walsh (NF '79), #2 oar and captain (second from left), and Charles Sherman (NF '83), coxswain (back to camera at right).

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